

RECOLLECTIONS

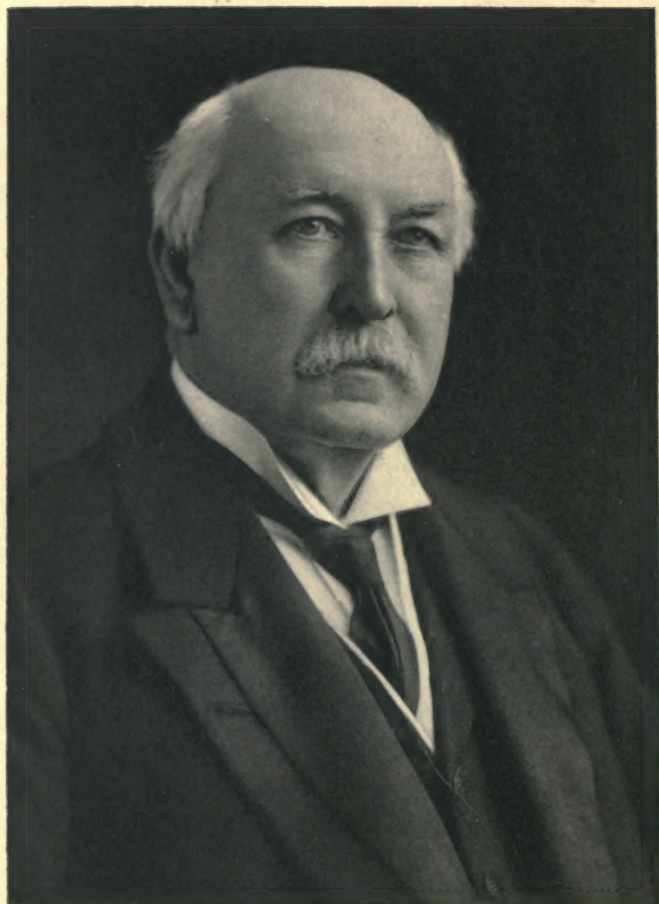
SIR CHARLES
W. MACARA
BART.

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**RECOLLECTIONS BY SIR
CHARLES W. MACARA, BART.**



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Lafayette, photographer Manchester

Charles W. Macara

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Recollections by Sir Charles W. ^{right} Macara Bart.



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1921

TO
MY WIFE

by whose untiring assistance so much of the work
I have done at home has been rendered possible

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RECOLLECTIONS BY SIR CHARLES W. MACARA, Bart.

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

DURING my long and varied career many people, knowing that I started life with nothing to depend upon but my own energies, have consulted me with regard to the prospects of others similarly situated, and I have invariably replied: "No better inheritance could they possibly have."

I must, however, confess that in the early stages of such a life as mine one often has fits of depression and grave misgivings as to whether the great difficulties to be contended with can be surmounted. At the same time, in my case, had I not had the spur of necessity in my early days I firmly believe I should not have developed the qualities that have enabled me to cope with the many difficult tasks which have fallen to my lot during a long life. But although I did not enter

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the world with a silver spoon in my mouth, there were qualities I had inherited which to me were of vastly more value.

I have always felt that heredity is an influence which has much to do with shaping a man's career. At any rate that was so in my own case. My own boyish wish to enter the Army was not merely the usual boy's inclination to romance. It grew out of, and was nourished by, the knowledge that some of my own ancestry were prominently identified with the Army and with India. At my home in Scotland I heard stories of a relative of my father who distinguished himself in the Napoleonic wars, rising to the command of the Royal Highlanders and meeting his death on the field at Quatre Bras on the day before Waterloo; of another who was of soldierly eminence and also a Civil Administrator in India; of others who were still living and serving their country on land and sea. The narratives related about these connexions naturally fired me with the desire to make a career in the profession of arms, and, as to every other ambitious boy, that meant to me a position of command, for I doubt whether any boy ever dreams of a future in which he is one of the undistinguished many.

There were, too, other hereditary factors which shaped my early character. A son of the Manse,

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I could not help gaining something from the qualities of independence of thought, courage to maintain convictions developed by meditation in the face of opposition, and depth of character which I saw daily in my father, a Scottish divine of the old school. In his early manhood, in 1843, he met the excitement and contentions of the disruption in the Scottish Presbyterian Church—the State Church of Scotland—with a strong heart and will, revealing a character tenacious of principles yet softened by generous feelings towards others. His life was a standing exhortation to me to find out what was good and hold to it. Were it my purpose here to write upon this period of my life in detail, I might trace out how the influence of my father and my mother, an equally vivid personality, shaped my character and gave me some qualities which I have always felt proud to possess. But I can only cast a grateful backward glance upon those fruitful days and pass on to the period when the seed which was sown then began to yield a harvest in practical life.

I would, however, note a curious factor in my experience. It is that, though I have never visited India, I seem to have been in touch with that Dependency all my life. Left an orphan at the age of five, my mother was taken under the care of an uncle, who rose on no other capital than his

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own abilities from a humble position in the Indian Service to the Chairmanship of the Honourable East India Company. Through this great-uncle's career my early days were saturated with the legends of India, and I was fired by the stories I heard of him with the ambition to go there and try my luck. No words can paint how great a hero he was in my youthful imagination.

At that age I was not overpowered with the high renown he won as an administrator because the other side of his record—his exploits as a soldier who had joined in many fierce engagements in the Punjab War—was to the eyes of youth much more romantic and fascinating. Since then I have come to value his administrative work much more highly, realizing with the growth of experience that the administrative faculty is much rarer than the capacity to face dangers in battle. In possessing both soldierly and administrative attributes he was in the line of great statesmen who served Britain in the days before India was brought into the Empire. He laboured for his country in India for thirty-five years, and, after his return to England, was for fifteen years longer in the service of the Honourable East India Company, of which, as I have mentioned, he became chairman, dying while holding that office.

As may be imagined, India was a much nearer

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and more interesting realm to our home than it was to many people in these islands. Events happening in that distant land—especially, of course, the Mutiny, in which relatives lost their lives and others had hair-breadth escapes—were both near and important to us. I grew up with India written very large in my mental constitution. My first ambitions were to go there as a soldier and emulate my great-uncle. But that was not to be, nor was I to spend any part of my life there; yet, as I have said, all my life I have found the great Dependency figuring as a background in my activities. The first important commercial post I took was with a firm whose business was partly in India and partly in Scotland. When, afterwards, I entered the cotton trade, a great deal of one's business was with India. In two Indian famines I was fortunately able to organize promptly very large Lancashire relief funds. I have taken an active part in stimulating the growing of cotton in that great country. The most comprehensive and authoritative survey of the possibilities of India for growing cotton was carried out under my supervision. How much were the stories I heard when a boy responsible for the interest which led to these activities?

I may add here, while writing of India, that I

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have in my possession what is perhaps a unique example of her handicraft. It is a child's frock which is still on occasion worn by one of my grand-daughters. Ninety years ago it came from India and formed a part of her great-grandmother's trousseau. I mention it here because it is symbolic of the patience and the manual skill of the East. The cotton from which it is made was grown in India. It was hand-spun into yarn, and the yarn was woven into cloth by hand. The delicate and beautiful embroidery was a hand product too. We boast of the finest machinery in the world for producing cotton cloth of the delicacy and texture of silk, yet this frock, produced in India nearly a century ago by manual methods, is finer than our most finished industrial cotton products of to-day. On account of its excessive cost such fine production has ceased and the secret of it has now gone from the civilized world ; but I regard this garment as full of hope for the future of India, since it remains to confute the pessimists who say that India cannot yield any varieties of cotton but those suitable for coarse yarns. A small thing in itself—a curio—it is yet a symbol of the potentialities of the great Dependency.

In those early days I was absorbing ideas and forming conceptions the value of which I had then no knowledge. The reflection of later years has

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shown me how favourable my surroundings were to the development of broad and bold plans, always having in them room for the principles of right living and fair conduct towards other men. For I was daily learning from the narratives about my relatives' achievements that every man has it within him to accomplish big things, while the atmosphere of religion in my home cautioned me against the success which involved injustice to fellow-men or disregard of their fundamental rights. I attribute many qualities I acquired later to the inspiration I received from the family circle. I will mention but two here. One is that I have all my life seen clearly that the possession of wealth is not in itself an end worthy of man's efforts.

Poor indeed is he who has no solace but his hoard of money! I have enjoyed the command of money all my public life, and without it could not have done the public work I have carried on, but I have never regarded it as more than an instrument for aiding a man in the expression of his ideas and individuality. Where the heart is set upon wealth for its own sake, or for the gratification of selfish aims, it withers a man's powers, reducing him to the idolater of that which he ought to control and use.

The other invaluable quality I got from those

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early days was the consciousness of the claims of the other side; in other words, the Christian teaching of "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you" took, I hope, good root in my character. At any rate, as I look back now over a life crowded with public work I see that emotions which have become dominant during a crisis must have had their source in that old teaching. When presiding, in times of industrial dispute, over joint meetings of employers and employed, I have found myself considering what would be the results to both sides and endeavouring to do what was fair between man and man, and at these momentous conferences I never allowed the claims of the non-combatants, who were seriously affected, to be overlooked.

In the early stages of my business career my energies were entirely absorbed with the details of the work I had to do. Although occupying a responsible position at an early age in connexion with the representation in Manchester of one of the super-firms in Scotland, it was not till attaining my thirty-sixth year, when I was appointed managing partner of an old and well-known firm, that I responded to the request to enter upon the public life of Manchester. I have since entered upon both national and international movements in connexion with the cotton industry

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—an industry in which England has held the leading position during the past 150 years.

Notwithstanding the many vicissitudes which are inseparable from our greatest export industry, it has gone on developing in magnitude and importance. I firmly believe, in spite of the set-back industry has received from the Great War, that with efficient management and harmonious relationship between Capital and Labour, the development of the cotton industry, which has been so marked during the last quarter of a century, will continue. I have arrived at these conclusions from the extensive experience I have acquired, the personal reminiscences of which I have been urged by my friends at home and abroad to give to the world.

CHAPTER II

STRIKES

I HAVE, in my international and national work for industry, ever had the ideal of conciliation in all disputes between Capital and Labour before me. One reason which has led me to aim in this direction is that I have had practical experience of strikes. Most of us in these days know what it is to be inconvenienced by a sudden stoppage of work by a section of the workers. We have found we could not travel, or that our coal has been withheld. That sort of experience of strikes is bad enough, but it is a very minor affair compared with such an experience as seeing one's machinery idle, one's business damaged, and one's capital flowing away through a strike in which you are forced to be a central figure.

As head of a large business I have known this more bitter experience. And, while watching the damage done to capital, I have seen the untold hardship suffered by the workpeople who were on strike; and I have wondered why men will trust to such an intolerable and senseless way of

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settling their differences. This is not the place to discuss the wisdom or the ethics of lock-outs and strikes, but I may say in passing that some of the most strenuous work of my life has been voluntarily done, simply because I realized so intensely and so clearly that out of these things no good could ever come. My propaganda against the strike and lock-out has been in the interests of all parties, for I believe all suffer if force is called in where reason should be arbiter.

As I have said, my keen desire to avoid strikes grew out of practical contact with them. Before I embarked on public work I had a very trying experience in connexion with one of the mills of my firm. At the Brunswick Mill, in Ancoats, Manchester, in 1884, we were engaged in the changing of machinery for spinning medium yarns in place of fine yarns. Then, as now, there were two wages lists for these two classes of cotton spinning. The renewal of the machinery at the Brunswick Mill brought it within the Oldham wages list, but the workpeople made a claim of 5 per cent. above that list because the mill was situated in Manchester, the home of fine spinning. Now, it was really absurd for them to take this attitude, since the wages we were going to pay were the acknowledged rates for work of that kind, and, as a matter of fact, no firm could

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have agreed to pay what the workpeople demanded without prejudice to its business. We therefore refused to pay the extra 5 per cent., and a strike was begun.

I had been in the firm only four years at this time, and was, to tell the truth, somewhat of a novice in regard to trade union matters, especially in the Lancashire cotton trade. Compared with to-day's trade unionism, the workers' organizations of that time were much less highly developed and not nearly so sensitive and aggressive as they became afterwards. But in cotton spinning the trade union, even then, was a very powerful organization; I did not at the time fully realize how strong it was.

The strikers began picketing—that is, preventing all the willing workers from getting to the mill. They asked for a fight, and I was in the mood to give them one. I advertised widely that the mill was in process of being renewed with machinery to spin Oldham yarns, and that the Oldham list of wages would be paid. A number of the workpeople were anxious to continue at their work, and others offered to fill the places that were vacant. This was not to the liking of the strikers employed in the mill. The originators of the strike were men who had been most difficult to deal with for many years, and, as a determined

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stand was now taken, they grew violent, and when men were engaged to take their places at the mill these riotous strikers went down to the Victoria Station, attacked the old-style omnibuses in which the workers were travelling, and threw them out. In a fight I was always determined to win. I decided that in this I would not be beaten, and took strong measures to ensure it.

The conflict grew very bitter, but the more the strikers opposed me the more determined I became that I would defeat them, feeling I had right on my side. Sometimes in reviewing this I have felt that I could not have realized the magnitude of the conflict. I had before long reason to believe I might be in grave personal danger. Threatening letters were sent to me, and some of the people who were helping me to keep the mill partially at work were terrified by the threats, knowing that the strikers were backed by very undesirable persons.

I played a bold hand. Instead of being intimidated by the threats, I went to the mill every day as usual, and if any group of men in an ugly mood were about, I refused to show any trepidation. I got a strong force of police brought up to defend the mill and the workers. The then Chief Constable of Manchester spoke very gravely to me about the risks I was taking. He said I

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was quite unaware what a tough proposition I had undertaken to solve, and warned me that there were men in the neighbourhood of the mill who respected neither life nor property. It was impossible for me to give in to the strikers, and I knew after a little while that I was fighting a winning fight, and I was fully determined to turn each advantage I gained against them and to show no weakness in trying to come to terms.

People who were willing to work at the mill were sheltered from harm by every means in my power. They dare not, of course, move from the mill. I housed them in part of the building, giving them every comfort I could command. Much to my satisfaction I steadily gained more and more volunteers from outside, and I began to see that victory was on my side. So did the strikers, and they appointed a deputation to come and interview me. They made no mystery of their defeat, and asked if I would take them back on my own terms. I said: "No; now that you are out, you shall stay out. I did not begin the dispute. I was prepared to pay the current rates for your work, but you were not content; now that you see you have failed, you want to get back to your work. With your past record, I cannot agree to take you back." In a fortnight they came again to ask if I would agree to take

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half their number back. I refused; and they grew so dejected that at last they asked if I would take five of them back. Even that request I refused. They had capitulated, but their places were filled, and it was too late.

It proved of great benefit to the cotton spinning industry in Manchester that this fight had been won. I had really fought a battle for the whole trade. Previously fourteen mills in the same district had had to close owing to the intractability of the employees. Mills generally were getting into the position that the employees could not be managed. However, what I did proved to have a restraining effect all round, and things grew better throughout the district when it was seen that violence could only achieve its own destruction if met in a resolute manner.

It was after this trouble that I called a meeting of employers engaged in the cotton spinning industry in Manchester, and took a leading part in forming the Manchester Cotton Employers' Association. At that time the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations did not exist. This federation embraces fourteen associations, of which Manchester is one.

If I were to leave the bare record of the strike at the Brunswick Mill just as it has been here recorded, I am sure that the reader would gather

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a mistaken impression of my general attitude towards disputes between Capital and Labour. Looking back on that grim fight of nearly forty years ago, I do not see how I could have acted differently in such circumstances. But I would like to add here, to prevent misunderstanding, that I have always believed a great deal more firmly in building up the organizations of the workpeople than in doing anything to prejudice them, and the action I took at that time was forced upon me.

I think I can claim to have been one of the forces which have extended and solidified the operatives' trade unions in the cotton industry. I always held that trade unions had their definite sphere to fill in industry, that all workers should join these unions, and that, on their side, employers should seek the same strong organization through employers' federations. Between employers and employees, organized in this way, there need be no ill feeling. Collective bargaining is most easily carried on if there are efficient organizations on both sides, if the organizations are fully representative, and if the rank and file in them are loyal to their leaders.

In my forty years' association with the cotton industry I have, of course, been compelled by circumstances to take a leading part in many other

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disputes. It would be tedious to refer to more than the most thrilling of them all—the twenty weeks' strike of late in 1892 and early in 1893, ended by the signing of the Brooklands Agreement, which has remained to this day, in my judgment, the finest example of industrial statesmanship that has yet been framed. The strike was a long and, to some extent, an embittered affair. A period of uncertainty and depression in the cotton industry—in which mills were losing money and prospects seemed always to be growing worse—led the employers, at the end of October, 1892, to give their workpeople notice of their intention to reduce wages. A date was stated for the new rate of wages to take effect, but when it arrived the operatives declined to continue at work.

It is curious at this distance to recall that in the course of the long stoppage one of the points which was argued with most heat was whether this was a lock-out or a strike. History refers to it as the Twenty Weeks' Strike, and since the employers took no positive step in the way of closing their mills, it may be right to use the term which signifies that in the actual cessation of work the initiative was that of the workers. Perhaps the question whether a lock-out or a strike took place is worth arguing now; but in

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those days it was the least important aspect of existing facts, and it is symptomatic of human tendencies in these matters that it was therefore regarded as a very vital question. I had personally no concern for such irrelevant topics at the time. I did not share the bitterness evinced by both sides.

Looking back on events now, I can see that I had been favoured in my ancestry and my training with inherited and acquired qualities which could be brought into use in the solution of difficulties such as faced us in that struggle. To begin with, my point of view was necessarily more detached than that of the Lancashire men, since I had not entered the cotton industry until I had reached maturity. I was a son of a Scottish manse—the offspring of families which had given great administrators and generals to the British people—and at my father's hands had received training in the humanities before I entered upon a business career. In these circumstances I was able to bring to the dispute qualities which some of my colleagues, through no fault of their own, did not possess.

Without claiming too large a measure of credit for myself, I may, I think, fairly say that it was by reason of my greater detachment from local passion and the qualities I had inherited and

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acquired that I was able to see beyond the mere question of wages with which the dispute began. As so often happens in an industrial dispute, the issue in this one had soon widened into a great matter of principle, for before very long the material question of more or less pay was lost in the question of full recognition of the workers' right to have a say in industry.

I saw this very early, even before the issue had taken definite shape in the plans of the operatives. I saw no difficulty, revolutionary though the idea then was, in granting the aspirations of the work-people in this matter. I began to help forward their claim, and ever since that time I have fought to secure for the operatives more and more influence and power in the conduct of industry. I came out as a champion of giving the operatives full credentials in negotiations in the twenty weeks' strike. Thus my personal battle was twofold. On the one hand I had to fight against the workers on the question which had originated the strike, on the other I had to wage war against fellow-employers on the bigger issue of which I have spoken.

At this distance of time many of the events in the great struggle become blurred, but some others stand out in all the greater relief because of the disappearance of what was only incidental.

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Those were days when the operatives were not fortified by large trade-union reserve funds, and the pinch soon began to be felt. There was hunger, and people went ill-clad for the rigours of the season. I could not withhold my personal admiration of the orderliness and fine temper of the strikers. No violence was done, no absurd threats were uttered, nor was there any whining.

I know of no experience in life so full of poignant sensations to a man of sensibility as that of being forced to be a central figure in a strike of this kind. The generous employer would rather see his workpeople back at their jobs; he would gladly end their privations; he hates to see them suffer. Yet he must stand firm upon the principles which are necessary to the sound conduct of his business, and he must be loyal to his colleagues. He has to face a cruel dilemma. For my part I fought to end this great strike in a spirit which has led me ever since to want to end all strikes. Since those days much of my time and effort have been spent in propaganda and personal service directed to establishing harmony between Capital and Labour.

It was during the twenty weeks' strike that I came very closely into touch with the late James Mawdsley, the operative spinners' leader. In another section of these memoirs, where I speak

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at length of the great industrial leaders I have been associated with, I say what I know and think of this remarkable man. Here I shall speak only of the part he played in bringing the twenty weeks' strike to an end—an important part, as will be shown. At the time of this strike the president of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation was Arthur Rayner, a man who had many estimable qualities, but whose personal gifts were the less useful because of indifferent health, and he had to resign the duties of president very early in the struggle. It was owing to this circumstance that the actual work of leading the employers fell upon me in very large measure.

I need not enter too closely here into the historical record of the strike. Suffice it to say that every week that it dragged on brought fresh hardships to the workpeople, and suffering became so acute that the strike was compared with the dread cotton famine of a generation earlier. I saw this suffering, and felt for those who were bearing it. I was determined that I would do everything in my power to bring about an end to it, and, if possible, an end to the circumstances which gave rise to deadlocks and strikes. There were repeated attempts to get to grips with the situation by means of joint negotiations. Feeling, at first, was so distrustful and antagonistic

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that the most delicate handling did not bring very much success. Everywhere there was suspicion. Leaders on both sides were submitted to as close a surveillance as Ministers of State in a crisis. But, fortunately, circumstances outside the area of the dispute were helping in producing the atmosphere for peace.

The general state of feeling, however, may be grasped from the fact that, fourteen weeks after the mills had stopped, a meeting held at Prestwich, near Manchester, ended without result, although at that meeting Robert Ascroft, M.P., solicitor to a section of the operatives, submitted a rough draft of the terms, every clause of which was discussed and altered, and which ultimately ended the strike at the Brooklands Hotel six weeks later. I was among those who believed strongly in the value of this suggested agreement, and I began at once to work with might and main to convert employers who stood out against it. The next six weeks were weeks of growing crisis, intensified hardship, and great anxiety. At last, however, came an opportunity for a joint conference. It had to be arranged with the greatest secrecy. I heard that certain of the operatives distrusted any effort at joint agreement, and harassed the men who were working for peace. In consequence of this high tension of feeling the

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date and name of the place at which the joint conference was to be held was not allowed to leak out. One newspaper representative only got to know; all the others were absolutely in the dark.

The conference began at three o'clock in the afternoon of March 23, 1893, at the Brooklands Hotel, Brooklands being a suburb about seven miles from the centre of Manchester. Now, we met at the conference with anxious feelings. I regarded the issues to be settled as amongst the deepest and most important with which industrial leaders could be faced; and, looking back, I see that, far from over-estimating its significance, I did not perhaps foresee what vast benefits to industry as a whole were to be won by that conference. The wages question, which had occasioned the strike, proved to be the least of our difficulties. We soon got the matter adjusted on a basis which was fair to both sides. But the agreement we had to make covered the wider issues which had loomed out as the strike lengthened, and it was the clauses governing our conduct with regard to these which brought about repeated deadlocks in that vital conference, just as at Mr. Ascroft's house at Prestwich, six weeks earlier, every clause of the agreement gave rise to fresh argument and dispute.

In my other books I have dealt fully with the

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Brooklands Agreement as a document for introducing harmony into industry. I do not want now to examine its clauses in detail. Its larger issues are the important question here. There is no doubt at all that it inaugurated a new era, not in the cotton industry alone, but in all industry. Now, there were a few of us in that conference of masters and men who saw that was going to be the case. It was for this reason that we fought so hard. We were trying in the cotton industry to substitute a reign of reason for one of force, to tie ourselves, both employers and employed, to rules which would make it difficult, and as nearly impossible as human nature would allow, to enter upon either a lock-out or a strike. We were going beyond that. We were dealing with the great issue of the workers' right to a "say" in industry. For the railways that issue was not settled until nearly twenty years afterwards. We were just that length of time in advance of the railways.

So we knew that what we wanted at that conference was worth a great struggle. The struggle came. The largest principles and aims of the agreement evoked intense opposition. Six times in the course of the conference the two sides broke away from each other. There we were, in that suburban hotel, grappling with

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great industrial issues, and six times the opposing elements seemed to feel that peace was impossible. Hearts sank and hopes ebbed. Hours went by, night was reached, and midnight sounded. Still the faithful believing few on each side kept battling on, composing the differences when deadlocks occurred, re-establishing the negotiations, ever getting their colleagues back to the table where peace with honour could be secured.

We went on sitting through the early hours of the morning. For my part I was determined, as one who had taken a prominent part in the dispute owing to the absence of the president until only a few days before the conference, that there should be no end to the conference until the agreement had been signed. I spared no effort to win over my friends. Fortunately, James Mawdsley—the leader on the other side—had the same end in view. I recall that once, when a very critical breakdown had occurred and the fate of the whole conference hung in the balance, Mawdsley and I encountered each other in the garden of the hotel. We were working, of course, for opposite sides. We had different views, therefore, on the main questions of the agreement.

But on the biggest question of all—that of the success of the conference—we found we had the same view. “We must not let them break

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away," said Mawdsley. I echoed that view; and we did not let them break away. At five o'clock in the morning, after we had sat through fourteen hours of the most intense feeling and anxiety, the Brooklands Agreement was signed. We went out into the raw morning with a great load removed from our minds, and the dawn of a long era of peace in the industry breaking upon us.

My personal view that the Brooklands Agreement is the greatest stroke of industrial statesmanship ever made has been fully confirmed by subsequent experience and events. Shortly after it was signed I was elected president of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations, embracing, as I have said, fourteen associations. For about twenty-one years I remained in that position. During the whole of that time we had only one strike regarding wages affecting the whole industry. The strike was brought about by one section of the operatives against the advice of the other sections, as well as against the advice of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and had the effect of stopping the whole industry, all sections being interdependent. Yet before my years of office the industry was known as the cockpit of industrial strife.

The Brooklands Agreement was abrogated a year before I resigned the presidency. It had

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served its purpose, and its spirit still lives. But for it industrial history would be a different record, for it has pointed the way in many industries to that industrial harmony which arises from wise statesmanship and eschews the weapon of force.

After assuming the presidency of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation I was invited to take a lead in all the public-spirited movements in connexion with the cotton trade, and to these I responded willingly as far as was possible. Most of these movements involved more or less determined effort and had to overcome considerable opposition and apathy. The Manchester Ship Canal, which was expected to develop largely the import of raw cotton and the export of the products of the spindles and looms to and from Manchester, met with such hostility that the results were most disappointing. When I was asked to take a lead in altering this state of things the impression that the Ship Canal would seriously injure the Port of Liverpool was very pronounced, and the inauguration of the Manchester Cotton Association for the direct importation of raw cotton to Manchester evoked much adverse criticism.

I was appointed president at the inaugural meeting, and retained this position for five years,

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and in spite of continued opposition the direct imports of raw cotton by the Ship Canal increased year by year. Looking back upon the long period that has elapsed I have seen the Port of Manchester rise to the position of third port in the United Kingdom, and at the same time there has been no injury to the Port of Liverpool. Indeed, a considerable development has taken place, proving conclusively that men with broad views and foresight are necessary to progress. I have long since outlived any ill-feeling engendered by the determined stand that was taken at the end of 1894. This departure has proved a great factor in the development of Lancashire's staple industry.

Another movement of great importance was the inauguration of the British Cotton Growing Association, of which I was asked to be the first chairman; but I was compelled to decline, though I always rendered whatever assistance I could.

In 1902 my attention was directed to a matter of much moment to the industries of Lancashire. It was found that a great handicap in the carrying of goods to the Far East was caused by the charges of the shipping firms included in the China Conference. Goods were being carried from New York to the Far East for about half the freight they were being charged from

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Lancashire, although the distance from New York was 3,000 miles more than from Lancashire. Here again I encountered great opposition that I little expected, but after I had led a delegation equally representative of Capital and Labour to the China Conference, the freights were reduced to about the same level, and a saving to Lancashire of about £100,000 a year was effected. This movement for the equalizing of freights has been carried on by the Exporters' and Importers' Association.



INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENTS



CHAPTER III

THE INTERNATIONAL COTTON FEDERATION

IT was the logic of facts which turned my mind in the direction of international organization. In my early business days I had seen the value of association with international affairs. For the cotton industry it was a vastly greater necessity than for any other industry to be organized on an international scale, every civilized country having an interest in cotton. I saw from the commencement of my public work for this industry that many of its greatest troubles would remain unremedied as long as it lacked an organization which could be operative in all the countries where cotton was known. For our own country this had a special importance, since cotton is our greatest industrial export, representing as it did in 1920 considerably over £400,000,000, and we are by far the leading nation in this industry.

Ideas which are kept revolving in the mind grow and take shape, so that the moment when circumstances occasion their release finds them already adapted and formed to particular ends. I

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had often brooded over the subject of an international organization and had recommended it before the crucial year 1903-4, but the pioneer proposals I made did not fall on very ready ears. Men in the industry were immersed in their private concerns and apparently saw little need to open up a wider field of enterprise.

If there is one thing more regrettable than another in British industrial organizations it is this lack of wide vision. Although the cotton industry is, generally speaking, a great deal in advance of most others, yet it is true that very often it has been difficult to get its leaders to look out from the mountain top. My own policy, when at the head of the industry, was always to take the widest possible view, to try to see things in their world-wide relations, and so the idea of internationalism became one which I felt must be applied to our organizations.

The translation of that idea into actuality came because of the crisis in the years I have mentioned—1903-4. I could only give a pale idea here of the anxiety of those years in the homes of Lancashire even were I gifted with much greater descriptive powers than I possess. For some years previously the shortage of the raw material of the industry had occasioned grave concern. America, the principal source of supply, was failing us

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through a variety of circumstances, among which were her and our growing consumption, the increasing demands of other nations, and the "cornering" of the raw cotton supplies by American speculators at times of stringency.

The years I have named saw the crisis come to a head. American cotton supplies were low, and the well-known speculator, Sully, appeared on the scene, causing by his operations on the markets, aided by the actual scarcity, an acute shortage which threatened Lancashire with disaster. The situation was this : on the one side of the Atlantic the operations of the speculator had sent up the price of the raw material to such a height that the spinner on the other side of it could not get cotton at such rates as would enable him to continue running his mills profitably. In this way an impasse seemed to be imminent. I shall have something to say later about a state of things which permits the gambler on the markets to endanger the livelihood of great masses of people by his speculations. At the moment I am more concerned with the relation of the facts of this period.

Now our cotton industry at that date employed in spinning and weaving about 500,000 operatives. In subsidiary industries and employments connected with cotton another half-million were em-

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ployed. Allowing only two dependents each to these employees, the total number of people concerned directly could not be less than 3,000,000. But that is only half the tale. Many other industries are entirely dependent on the successful running of this one, and some others are partially dependent on it; and if we took account of them also we should see that the ruinous state of trade brought about by a natural shortage of the raw material, coupled with the operations of the speculators, at that time injured millions more.

It is a curious world which gives us such an ironical situation. On the one hand a single speculator—backed, of course, by other people's money—gloating over opportunities of making untold wealth, and on the other hand, millions of people threatened with great losses in the earning of their livelihood. Lancashire saw again—though, fortunately, it did not experience—all the misery and privation of the cotton famine of the 'sixties staring it in the face. Anxiety filled the minds of far-seeing employers as well as the leaders of the operatives as to the means to be employed to avert an impending disaster.

These were the circumstances in which I conceived and proposed the scheme for organized short time in the spinning and weaving mills. In those days the working week was $55\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and my

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plan was to reduce it to 40 hours. I saw in this scheme a way of curtailing consumption and so allowing a good deal of the "cornered" cotton to lie as dead capital on the hands of the speculator, and of playing Providence for the operatives by providing them with two-thirds of their normal wages spread over twelve months instead of full wages for two-thirds of the year and none for the remaining third. Such a plan could only be successful if everybody loyally co-operated to make it so; and I had the great pleasure at a mass meeting at the end of 1903 of seeing both employers and employed pledge themselves to the proposal. The scheme saved the cotton industry from disaster and the arch-speculator was broken. He departed from the scene a complete and dramatic failure. Lancashire loyally kept to the plan of organized short time, suffering the loss entailed with fortitude; and so gave an example to the world of a whole industrial community acting with one motive and upon one plan with incalculable benefit to industry as a whole.

A cherished principle of mine is that in times of bad trade a stoppage, if possible, should be avoided. The way to do this is to take account well beforehand what the conditions are likely to be and to adjust the production of industry accordingly. Organized short time, when there is

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depression, or when the raw material fails partially, is a method of meeting the situation. To go on turning out a full quantity of goods till the markets are glutted and then to close down the machinery is an amateurish and bungling way of adjusting production to consumption. The workers, living, as the majority do, from hand to mouth, are left suddenly without wages where this latter system obtains, and are plunged into distress from which foresight and organization would save them.

During the war, when our shipping had been reduced by submarine attacks and when so much of what remained was needed for purely war purposes, the production of our cotton industry—then the only one of our great industries which was turning out exports on any considerable scale—had to be regulated according to the amount of the raw cotton, as well as of the export of manufactures for which transport could be found. Fortunately the way chosen to meet this difficulty was not that of closing down the mills and factories indiscriminately, but of regulating them by adopting short time and stopping a certain amount of machinery. Provision for the temporarily unemployed was also included in the scheme by means of a levy on the machinery that was kept running.

As I have said, by employers and employees

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loyally working short time in the crisis of 1908-4 a disaster was avoided by another method.

It saved the cotton-spinning and manufacturing industry from the most serious losses. But it was not really right that the sacrifices should have been borne by one country when all were to benefit from them. The only way, however, by which the other interested countries could have been brought into the movement of organized short time was by an international organization, and none then existed to carry out such a large proposal. The need of one, which I had seen for a long time, became apparent to all after this crisis.

At the Lancashire meeting which backed the proposal to reduce the working week for as long a period as was necessary to forty hours, a representative of the French cotton industry was present and supported the idea, and messages received in reply to telegrams sent to American and European spinners showed that an international movement along these lines would have been possible if only the organization to give it shape and drive had been in existence. Obviously the thing to do was to bring an international organization into being. But how?

At that time the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour was Prime Minister; he was also Member of Parliament for East Manchester, thus being

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brought into very near contact with the great centre of the cotton industry. Mr. Balfour happened to be staying in Manchester in January, 1904, and a deputation was organized and led by me to place before him the seriousness of the impending situation. This deputation represented both employers and employed, all deeply concerned by the events which had been taking place, and anxious to see some action taken to prevent their industry being placed in jeopardy. Two proposals were made to Mr. Balfour: (1) That an international conference should be held to deal with the cotton situation and that the British Government should summon it; such a conference, it was urged, was the only effective method of dealing with the situation. (2) That the British Government should appoint experts to obtain reliable information as to the supply of cotton and other raw materials necessary for carrying on the great industries; our possession of such information, it was pointed out, might have a material effect in preventing undue speculation.

Mr. Balfour listened to us very attentively, admitting that we had satisfied him as to the need for some such steps as we proposed. He promised to make inquiries as to what could be done. Appeals to Government Departments were received with sympathy but without any definite

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action. My experience as to Government help has always been the same. Whatever their political colour, Governments are insensitive to the vital needs of our staple industries. They cannot see ahead, nor can they rise when a great occasion calls for them to back an industry. If Governments do move on industry's behalf it is only when they have been spurred into action by the importunate demand of the people whose livelihoods are at stake. And the curious thing is that while Governments will not foster and encourage industry, they have for many years past interfered in its internal affairs with most disastrous results.

In the case I am dealing with nothing was done, and I saw that it would be waste of time to wait for Government action. I recommended that the English Federation of Master Cotton Spinners should proceed to call an international congress. The place chosen for the assembly was Zurich. The Swiss Cotton Employers' Association was asked to act as joint conveners and we met there on May 23, 1904. It was an historic moment for the cotton industry. There for the first time representatives consisting of the most prominent men in the business in Europe met upon a common platform with a common purpose. It was the birth of a new international idea in industry. Out of the deliberations of that Con-

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gress grew the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, which was formally established at a second assembly in Manchester in the following year.

I have often said in later years that this was the birth of a League of Nations. I believe to-day that its constitution was one which could be used very profitably in establishing a League of Nations.

Every cotton-using country either joined this Federation or co-operated with it; and in addition to the congress in England in 1905, annual congresses were subsequently held in Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain and Portugal, and Holland, and international delegations visited America and Egypt. Furthermore, many meetings of the International Committee were held in centrally situated cities in Europe. This movement was prosecuted with great vigour until the war interfered with its operations, and perfect harmony characterized the deliberations.

As its president from its formation to the year 1915 I have naturally taken pride in its work; but if the personal equation be left out altogether I believe that its record of work contained in nineteen volumes of reports will convince any student of industry that it was one of the greatest movements in the history of international co-operation. Elsewhere I have dealt fully with the

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work it carried out, and will not here pause to review it.

My own efforts for the success of the International Federation were unsparing. I undertook quite voluntarily a large amount of propaganda work. On the eve of the first International Congress at Zurich I contributed a comprehensive article dealing with the cotton industry of the world and the reasons for international co-operation to the *Revue Economique Internationale*, which was printed in English, German and French and circulated throughout Europe and America. It is something of a happy coincidence that when the Federation resumed its meetings after the break caused by the war, the place of meeting was again Zurich. Though no longer president, I was invited by the same review to write another article in anticipation of the resumption of the work, and my article "The International Idea in Industry" (embodied in my book "In Search of a Peaceful World") was reprinted in three of our own reviews, quoted in every British newspaper of importance, in the American Press, and in about fifty newspapers on the Continent.

I was assured by people who follow such matters that the publicity given to this article was unrivalled except by the weightiest pronouncements of statesmen. I mention this as showing that,

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rightly dealt with, the affairs of any important international movement can be made to have the widest possible publicity. These articles were only an insignificant part of the propaganda I found it necessary to do for the Federation. The headquarters in Manchester, in fact, became as it were the seed ground of a varied and extensive international work all requiring daily personal supervision, and all carrying the mind to the ends of the earth.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE

ANOTHER international movement with which I was closely connected was the International Institute of Agriculture, embodying the international idea in another form, and I am proud to have been associated with its initiation. David Lubin, its originator, travelled far and wide early in the present century with his important scheme for setting up an observation post from which the harvests of the world could be surveyed. Lubin, a very remarkable man of wide vision and great persistence, an American citizen, who had worked out his great idea down to its details, found that the Governments of Europe were very difficult to move. He journeyed from country to country, outlining to Governments his plan to build up an organization which would collect and supply to the people concerned information on the quality and quantity of animal and vegetable products, their prices on the various markets, give early warning of diseases breaking out in any section of the plant world, and give reliable forecasts of harvests and crops. All this work was as useful

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to producers, manufacturers and consumers as it was damaging to the pure speculators who utilize a shortage of crops anywhere as a means for amassing wealth.

I have always taken a very active interest in agriculture, and have maintained associations with it throughout most of my business life. The cotton industry itself depends primarily upon agriculture, and the two industries are largely responsible for the feeding and the clothing of the world. My interest in the work of David Lubin was consequently very great, and when he wrote to me in 1904 asking my assistance, as the president of the newly formed International Cotton Committee, in his efforts to set up the International Institute of Agriculture, I felt that I must do all that lay in my power to help him. The position at that time was that Lubin had succeeded, by grit and persistence, in securing an audience of the King of Italy, who, being an enthusiast in agriculture, was deeply impressed by the scheme.

Lubin described to me this interview with the King of Italy, who listened most attentively to his story and then asked what he wanted him to do. Lubin at once replied : "To summon a meeting of representatives of the Governments of the world to discuss the scheme," and on the King

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expressing his approval of the proposal, Lubin, in true American style, said to the King: "You are still a young man, but by this act you may go down to posterity with a greater record than the Cæsars." A conference of representatives of the Governments of the world was held at Rome; this conference, after considering the scheme, supported Lubin's ideas.

A protocol was issued by the conference to the various Governments who sent representatives, but no definite step was taken to give practical shape to the scheme. Lubin soon realized that his suggestions had been put away in those Government pigeon-holes which prove the grave of many good proposals. A letter to me showed that he had come to the conclusion that unless some fresh force entered the field without delay his scheme was possibly hung up for ever.

Shortly after I received his letter he came to Manchester, and it was then that I saw him for the first time. I well remember the impression this great and disinterested man made upon me when he entered my private office, and his striking personality and unbounded enthusiasm stand out just as vividly now as they did at that time. Without undue ceremony he at once began his appeal for assistance. "Since," he said, "the international conference of representatives of the

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Governments of the world summoned by the King of Italy was held, I have been trying to find an engine big enough to bring the protocol which was issued by the conference, recommending my scheme at which I have been working for twenty years, out of the Government pigeon-holes. If I fail now I have grave misgivings whether, even with the assistance that the King of Italy has given, it will ever be adopted." He suggested that I should summon a meeting of the International Cotton Committee, but to this I replied that, until more definite steps had been taken, it was not desirable to do this, as such a step involved the bringing of the members from a wide area.

I found the British representatives at the conference summoned by the King of Italy were the Earl of Minto, the Earl of Jersey, and the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture; and accordingly suggested that Lubin should arrange an interview for me with the last named. With characteristic energy, he telephoned to the Board of Agriculture in London, and arranged an appointment for the following day. At the interview I found an absence of enthusiasm, but when I dealt with the benefits that would accrue, not only to the greatest of all our industries—agriculture—but to industry generally, there was a change of attitude, and subsequently the

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Secretary joined me whole-heartedly in supporting Lubin's scheme.

Not long after this interview I had occasion to go to Paris, and it was suggested that I should there see the Director of the French Department of Agriculture. I found him enthusiastic in his support of the scheme, and much interested in the account of my interview with the Secretary of the British Board of Agriculture. The information I was able to give, encouraged him to approach his Government with a strong recommendation that it should agree to provide its proportion of the funds necessary for carrying on the work to which the King of Italy had given his valuable support. This recommendation was accepted, and on my return to London I interviewed Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He listened most attentively to my explanations, and indicated that effect would be given to my recommendations.

The support thus assured on the part of France and England was soon followed by that of the other countries represented in the International Cotton Federation, and in a very short time Lubin's scheme came into operation. No praise is too high to bestow on David Lubin, undoubtedly one of the world's great benefactors, who left behind him an institution which will for all time be of untold value to the human race.

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At the Quirinal in Rome, where I had the honour of being received by the King of Italy, His Majesty, who had already at his own personal expense provided magnificent headquarters for the institute at Rome, referred repeatedly to the timely assistance I had been able to render at a very critical moment. The institute at once began to render great service to the whole industrial and commercial world. The war itself did not stop its work. Throughout the struggle the institute continued to supply information by the issue of its bulletins, though, of course, they were not as universal as in the times of peace. The representatives of 59 States are now co-operating in the work of the institute, and are issuing bulletins of immense value.

I have already referred to the International Cotton Federation as a League of Nations, and the International Institute of Agriculture can be described in the same way. But the two together are even more strikingly an example to the world of genuine harmonious relations between men of so many different nationalities. Since their formation, in 1904 and 1905 respectively, these two international movements have been in continual co-operation, except for the interruption occasioned by the war, and have demonstrated that work for the benefit of mankind may be done and

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will be done quite readily by men drawn from numerous countries who, in the doing of it, willingly sink their distinctions of nationality.

Once more I would like to say here that an effective League of Nations will be assured when the spirit in which these two international movements have dealt with their difficult problems is imported into our high politics and diplomacy. The central principle of both organizations has been that the common good is supreme. Each for all and all for each may sound an impossible ideal, but here it has been realized.

CHAPTER V

CONGRESSES IN ZURICH AND MANCHESTER

IT was a very anxious time between issuing the invitations to an international cotton congress and the time of the meeting at Zurich in 1904, and I was much gratified, in receiving the various delegates, to hear from them that they had followed my career, as they were daily readers of *The Manchester Guardian*, and that they were much impressed by the article I had contributed to the *Revue Economique Internationale*.

The congress being a new departure, and as many of the delegates who took part in it had not had much experience of organization, considerable tact was necessary; but a great impression was made, and it was realized that many vital problems of the cotton industry could only be solved by international action, and the outcome of the conference was highly satisfactory.

A committee was formed, composed of the most prominent men representing each of the various countries present, and I was appointed chairman. It was arranged that a congress should be held in England the following year, and in

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the meantime the committee were charged with drawing up rules and regulations for carrying on an International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, to be submitted at the next congress. This was duly carried out.

At Zurich, I remember, our hosts set an example of originality by arranging for an informal gathering of the delegates on the summit of the Rigi; and there, in view of one of the most gorgeous panoramas of mountain and vale, river and lake, the first congress was brought to a most successful ending.

The second congress was held in Manchester, at the Town Hall, in June, 1905, the guests being received at the Midland Hotel by my wife and myself.

At this congress it was unanimously decided that an International Federation should be established, with headquarters in Manchester, and annual congresses held in the various countries represented in rotation, the representative of the country in which the meeting was held to be president of the congress for that year. I was appointed chairman of the international committee, which involved the duties of superintending the daily work throughout the year, the summon-

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ing of the committee meetings in central cities in Europe, and taking whatever initiative was necessary. In this capacity it also devolved upon me to prepare and read at each successive congress a report of what had been done during the year. This, and the issuing of the voluminous reports, was a most important factor in the success of this world movement. Unless this part of the work is carried out efficiently no permanent results can be obtained.

A number of ladies accompanied the delegates to the Manchester congress, and the hospitality and receptions accorded by the cities of Manchester and Liverpool and other Lancashire towns gave an excellent send-off to this international movement. All the extensive arrangements were thoroughly organized, and, as is generally the case when this is done, everything passed off smoothly. This was characteristic of all the subsequent congresses.

CHAPTER VI

A DAY WITH KING EDWARD AT WINDSOR

IN connexion with the establishment of the International Cotton Federation acknowledgment must be made of the valuable assistance received from the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was at that period Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was by his courtesy that the Report of the first International Congress, which was held in Zurich in 1904, was forwarded to the chief Governments of the world under the auspices of the Foreign Office. This procedure was continued from year to year, but unfortunately the personal recognition of the Head of the State was accorded to the International Cotton Federation in France and Germany before this could be arranged in England.

In view of the cordial assistance to which I have referred on the part of the British Foreign Office, it was to that Department I made representations in the hope of securing recognition in England similar to that obtained in France and Germany. It was just in that direction, however, that opposition was encountered, and I am con-

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vinced that had this not been the case His Majesty King Edward VII, with his profound desire for international co-operation, would have been the first to lend his powerful support to a world-wide industrial movement which originated in England, was led by England, and has its headquarters in this country. It was, as a matter of course, acknowledged by all the other countries that England's preponderating position in the world's cotton industry made it imperative that a representative of this country should occupy the foremost position in the international organization, and the presidency has been occupied by an Englishman ever since the initiation of the movement.

Abroad we have the reputation of being the most practical-minded people in the world. It is a reputation which, curious as our methods at home may seem, is sustained by our success in practical affairs in all parts of the world. But we do, nevertheless, often find remarkable paradoxes in our national character. While pursuing our objects abroad with a genius for great affairs, we often at home seem utterly unable to appreciate the importance of the task to which we have put our hands. The cotton industry affords very remarkable instances of this peculiarity in our character. This matter of official recog-

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dition of the International Federation was one.

Foreign nations had, as I have said, shown appreciation of its claims before our English ruling powers. I need not emphasize the fact that England had most reason of all the countries to welcome any representative body of men from the cotton industry. We were the supreme country in that industry, more important in our equipment, our skill and our resources, than all the rest of Europe put together. Cotton products were our greatest and most valuable export. Surely it was a very remarkable thing that our own authorities were not first in bestowing honour upon the body which banded the industry together into an international federation!

I began to take action with a view to obtaining Governmental recognition because certain members of the International Federation who were connected with the industry abroad expressed their surprise that England neglected us while President Loubet and the Kaiser showered every kind of honour on us. To succeed in such an undertaking is no easy affair. There is a barrage of officialdom to get through before your justifiable request reaches the ear of those whose help you want. I have had, in my long experience of public work, many occasions to face that formidable

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barrage, and I do not wonder at the man who gives up. However, in this instance I felt it absolutely necessary that I, as chairman of the committee of the Federation, should take steps to obtain recognition of our efforts from the King of England.

There was to be a meeting of the committee of the Federation in London in November, 1906, and I felt that this would afford a suitable occasion for the realization of my scheme. I therefore approached the heads of the Foreign Office and other Government Departments with a view to obtaining the recognition we sought. The proposition was, I need scarcely say, coldly, indeed frigidly, received in official quarters. There was, I was told, no precedent for such a thing, and it was extremely doubtful if anything could be done.

I knew there was no precedent, but could not see in what way that affected the proposal. Before the International Cotton Federation and the International Institute of Agriculture were formed—in the initiation of both of which I took a leading part—there had been no precedent for such international organizations; but that had not prevented their birth nor interfered with their growth. In great commercial and industrial affairs we are more concerned with making precedents than in follow-

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ing them, and I felt sure that King Edward was just the man to see the wisdom of making a precedent in this matter if only the request could be got to him.

I refused to be defeated by the obstacles which the official class placed in the way. I replied categorically that there was no precedent for such work as that which the International Cotton Federation was carrying on, and that it was impossible, in view of what other countries had done, and in view of the position England occupied, that this recognition could be withheld any longer without seriously affecting the future of this great international movement.

By adopting various methods I was at last successful. King Edward readily agreed not only to receive us, but personally to entertain us at Windsor Castle. On the day appointed for our visit we received full instructions from Lord Knollys, the King's Private Secretary, giving us a complete outline of the day's events. We went by train to Windsor about noon, where we were met at the station by Colonel Frederick, Deputy Master of the Household. In his courteous and frank manner Colonel Frederick introduced himself to me and asked me to present the representatives of the various nationalities to him. He also asked me to convey to them the very flattering

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information that King Edward had himself superintended the arrangements for our entertainment. It was to us all an evidence of that tact which made him one of the most beloved of kings in our history. We had many other evidences of it during the day. We found, for instance, that the train that was to convey the King and Queen of Norway to the City, where they were to be entertained to luncheon by the Lord Mayor, had been delayed ten minutes in its departure so that we might have the pleasure of seeing them at the station.

Carriages were in waiting at the station to take us to the royal residence on a route which the King had planned as being the most interesting. We rode through the great park and visited the mausoleum at Frogmore which had been specially opened. After a walk through the beautiful gardens we entered the Castle and were received by the ladies and gentlemen of the Court, the Duchess of Buccleuch, Mistress of the Robes, acting as hostess. It was an agreeable reception, without stiffness, and, indeed, with a great deal of cordiality. There was something about it which subdued the note of formality and made us feel that the generous spirit of the King ran through his Court. I had some conversation with the Earl of Granard, the Lord-in-Waiting, who told me

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that he would present me to His Majesty, and that I, in turn, was to present the various members of the committee. The Earl explained to me that His Majesty desired to know the order in which the various nationalities were to be presented, and we made full preparations in accordance with this wish.

The next occurrence was something of a marvel to the plain business men of our committee. Following a message that His Majesty was ready to receive us, folding doors were thrown open, and at the far end of the room we saw King Edward, accompanied by Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria, standing upon a dais. I remember, as I approached the King, thinking how well he bore his dignity, looking every inch a king. There was something friendly as well as regal in the way he held out his hand with the words: "I welcome you to Windsor. I have done all in my power to make your visit a pleasant one and I hope you will have a very happy day." His Majesty then presented me to the Queen, who gave me a cordial handshake, and then to Princess Victoria. I presented the members of the committee, to each of whom His Majesty said a few words of welcome, speaking the language of the guest in each case, a fact which made them marvel at our monarch's linguistic attainments. King Edward afterwards

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presented the committee as a body to the Queen and the Princess.

The King made a happy little speech to the members of the committee. Having expressed his pleasure in welcoming us to Windsor, he said : "I hope the efforts of the International Cotton Federation to promote the welfare of the world's cotton industry may meet with the success they deserve. On a previous occasion I referred to an international scheme for the improvement of agriculture, initiated by the King of Italy, and I am glad to think that it is likely, when fully developed, to further the aims of your Federation and to be of service to the cotton and other kindred industries which are so dependent on the tillers of the soil for their raw material, the supply of which has been somewhat inadequate during recent years."

I delight to repeat this short speech since it shows, as every one of King Edward's public utterances showed, a personal knowledge of his subject. The linking together of agriculture and the cotton industry is one of those strokes of real insight for which he was famous. Even among men engaged in its manufacture the fact that cotton is an agricultural product is sometimes lost sight of, but it is essential that it should always be remembered, as King Edward remembered it.

A Day with King Edward at Windsor

Keeping this in mind helps us to remember that we are dependent upon the tillers of the soil not only for our food, but for the greater part of our raiment, a fact which should stimulate our interest in the well-being of the fundamental industry of agriculture.

The King, the Queen and Princess Victoria again shook hands with us after His Majesty's speech, and we then adjourned to the reception-room and afterwards to the dining-room, where we were accompanied by the ladies and gentlemen of the Court. I was greatly struck by the interest in and knowledge of the work of the International Cotton Federation which was shown by the Court. An incident which greatly impressed and charmed us here was that the little Prince Olaf could be seen at play from the windows in the care of his nurse. After lunch we were taken through the castle. We returned to London late in the afternoon to dine with the President of the Board of Trade.

The experiences of the day made a very deep impression upon the members of the committee, who were all prominent men in their various countries. The remark was freely made that they could scarcely realize that they had been met with such cordiality from the greatest ruler on earth. There can be little doubt that the impression was

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profound and permanent. It was so great a demonstration of courtesy and tact as none but our own Royal House could have given. I have always regarded the day at Windsor as being the greatest single event in the history of the International Federation. It brought us the due recognition of an important international movement and gave us the prestige which is so valuable in the conduct of a great public work.

This wonderful royal influence lived on in our counsels even after King Edward had passed away. A remarkable example of it was seen at the time of His Majesty's death in 1910. For several weeks before a wages dispute in the cotton industry had been in progress, the employers having, in consequence of the depressed state of trade and in accordance with the terms of the Brooklands Agreement, taken steps for securing a 5 per cent. reduction. As the operatives' representatives were not prepared to agree to any proposal involving a reduction, the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations decided to ballot their members as to what action should be taken to enforce the demand. The employers voted in favour of notices being served upon the operatives, but, as it proved, the very date they should have taken effect fell upon the day of the funeral of King

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Edward. The whole nation was deeply moved at the unexpected death of His Majesty, and it was felt that this, at all events, was no time for wrangling. The Federation committee met and decided to send a circular letter to its members suggesting a postponement of action. The letter, after announcing the result of the ballot, read :

“ Since the ballot of the members was commenced the whole nation has been profoundly moved and saddened by the unexpected death of His Majesty King Edward VII, and it has been felt that a time of national mourning was peculiarly inappropriate for the commencement of industrial strife.

“ While it would have been difficult on the notification of the death of the late King to have immediately ceased from taking further action, seeing that the ballot was in progress, and while such action would have been liable to serious misconstruction, your committee, being now fortified by such a satisfactory vote of the members, are of opinion that the time is opportune for giving practical expression to their desire that nothing should be done at the present moment to disturb the continuance of industrial peace.

“ I am therefore directed to notify you that out

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of respect to the memory of the late King, and being desirous not to cloud the first few months of the reign of His Majesty King George V by a great industrial struggle, your committee have unanimously decided to refrain from taking further action in the wages question for a period of three months."

This letter, signed by the secretary of the Federation, was received in sympathetic spirit by the members, with the result that a postponement of the dispute took place. It is gratifying to be able to record also that at the end of the three months' grace the parties found a basis of agreement whereby wages were stabilized for a period of five years.

The same interest shown by King Edward in the welfare of the cotton industry has, we in Lancashire are delighted to see, been sustained by King George ever since he came to the throne. An evidence of this was given when the committee of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations met in London in November, 1910. His Majesty's Government entertained the committee to luncheon in the Terrace Dining Rooms at the House of Commons on that occasion, and the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P. (now

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Viscount Harcourt), Secretary of State for the Colonies, who presided, gave the greatest possible pleasure to the guests by announcing that he had a message to deliver from the King. In submitting the royal toast he said: "I have the honour to be charged with a message from the King to the foreign members of the committee whom we are entertaining here to-day—a message of welcome to our shores and to his Palace of Westminster, and an expression of the deep interest which he feels in the prosperity of the cotton industry throughout the world. King George's subjects are the largest consumers and the largest manufacturers of cotton. It is therefore to him a matter of deep concern that the greatest enlargement in the production of the raw material should take place, whether in his own dominions or in any other part of the world."

At this luncheon Sir Edward Grey (now Viscount Grey), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, paid a magnificent compliment to the International Cotton Federation. After alluding to the efforts of the Federation to increase the cotton-growing area of the world, he said:

"As an International Federation of Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers you are perhaps doing,

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or at least contributing, to a greater work than you know, or at any rate a greater work than is contained in your reports, or in the immediate objects which you set before the Federation. It is recognized by everyone who studies history or who studies nature that in the scheme of things in this world there are both people and things who will labour for one immediate object and with a limited purpose, and may yet be doing work which may be contributing to an ultimate end and object and purpose much greater than the one which they have immediately before them. Your immediate object is the prosperity of the cotton industry, but I would hope that the ultimate end to which your thoughts are tending is to make felt amongst nations a greater sense of the interdependence of nations upon each other—making it not merely known but felt—because the thing that is known is of comparatively little use until it is felt. To know is not the same as to feel. Now the nations have reached this point of industrial development: the welfare of each is bound up with the welfare of others (I believe financial circles, because finance is so intimately bound up between nations, are already feeling that), and when all those connected in industry feel that also, then I think we may agree that the peace of the world is being assured. . . .

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“ I will couple with the toast (the International Cotton Federation) the name of Mr. Macara. We know well in this country how much he has done for the cotton industry, how much his energy and thought and ability have contributed to that organization which is so necessary for the prosperity of great industries. He has taken a prominent part in the initiation and management of the International Federation, and I hope he feels that in this work which he has done in promoting the International Federation he has been serving not merely the cause of the industry, but the cause of comity between nations.”

In my reply I heartily endorsed what Sir Edward Grey had said, that these international movements were not only being carried on for the welfare of great industries, but also for promoting the peace of the world. I concluded with the words used by Earl Carrington (now the Marquis of Lincolnshire) at a luncheon given to the committee of the International Federation when they met in London on a previous occasion that “ such gatherings as these demonstrate clearly that, notwithstanding the great increase of armaments, the peoples of the world are friends at heart and there is room for all of us.”

A further testimony to King Edward's

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interest in the cotton industry came from Queen Alexandra herself. The International Cotton Congress at Brussels happened to be held shortly after King Edward's death, and the delegates sent a deeply sympathetic vote of condolence to Queen Alexandra and the Royal Family, signed by the representatives of almost all the cotton-growing and manufacturing countries of the world. In reply, in my capacity as president of the Federation, I received the following letter from Her Majesty's private secretary :

“BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

“July 22, 1910.

“SIR,—I have had the honour of submitting to Queen Alexandra the address of condolence on behalf of the cotton employers' associations of the principal countries of the world assembled at Brussels for the seventh annual congress.

“I am desired by Her Majesty to say how deeply touched she is by the expression of sympathy from such an important body of international commerce.

“Queen Alexandra well remembers the representatives of so many nations being received by the late King Edward VII, and Her Majesty knows what interest His Majesty took in this particular industry.

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“I am to ask if you will kindly convey Queen Alexandra’s heart-felt thanks to all those who have shared in sending the address to Her Majesty.

“I have the honour to be, sir, Your obedient servant,
~ (Signed) SIDNEY GREVILLE.

“C. W. MACARA, ESQ.”

CHAPTER VII

CONGRESS AND COMMITTEE MEETINGS IN FRANCE

AT all our international congresses and meetings of the committee we were shown the most lavish hospitality, and the one held in France in 1908 was no exception to this rule. I have recollections of generous and splendid receptions in various European capitals which were the outward and visible signs of inward good feeling present everywhere, and in most of which heads of State and Ministers of State took part. In Paris we were a large company, and no available place was large enough for the principal social function, so a temporary building situated on the island in the lake of the Bois de Boulogne was utilized, to and from which we went in small boats. A picture as of a child's fairyland comes to the mind now as I recall these goings and comings, with the twinkling lights reflected in the placid water and our island banqueting hall in the near distance. Paris by night is an ethereal and wonderful sight, and a great contrast to our grey and black North of England cities.

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Another social function of our visit was a reception at the Hôtel de Ville, given by the President and members of the Conseil Municipal. On this occasion I suppose there were about 2,000 of the leading people of the city present. We were naturally very greatly impressed by the beautiful building, especially its fine marble staircase and mural decorations. A procession walked through the main corridors between lines of Chasseurs and onlookers, the President of the Municipal Council with myself, as chief guest, at its head. Reaching the great hall, we found a brilliant company, the women in gorgeous dresses worn and made with the taste and charm that save the French woman of fashion from ever looking over-dressed whatever abundance of style and colour her clothing may have. Here we were given a very brilliant entertainment, including some fine music by the orchestra.

A remark made by a lady during the procession has led me often to speculate upon the value of a good presence on occasions of this kind. I give the story simply as a curiosity of our minds, so readily influenced by outward appearances and first impressions. The lady I speak of—a well-known Parisienne of her day—said how fortunate the English were in having leaders of some presence, since that mere fact gave them an initial

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advantage on ceremonial occasions. The dignity of office, she said, could not be successfully worn by stunted or short and fat men when the public eye was upon them. But one may ask to what extent this shrewd judgment is true of people who think. There can be little doubt that of the mass of mankind it is true to say a tall and well-built man finds these physical attributes a passport to good opinion. But do men and women of judgment undergo such subconscious influence from initial prepossessions? If so, all our organizations having public help to win should be represented by men of commanding and agreeable presence! Before leaving the Hôtel de Ville we were asked for our signatures, which our French hosts wished to attach to the permanent record of this great congress.

Another example of the French genius for entertaining was afforded by a great day we had at Chantilly, where high honour was done us and in most brilliant surroundings. I also remember, on the occasions when meetings of the committee were held in Paris, the cordial receptions and entertainments at the Elysée given by Presidents Loubet, Fallières and Poincaré, and our receptions by the Ministers of State, and banquets at which many of them were present.

It was at these functions that I realized how

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immensely valuable was a clear, distinct enunciation in one who has to deliver speeches. Part of my duty as head of the International Cotton Federation was to make a speech at each of the functions. There was a very formidable handicap in the fact that I could not attempt to do so in French. But I knew that many of our hosts could understand English if it were spoken with clearness and at such a speed as would allow them properly to catch the words. I was pleased to find that the remarks made were quite easily followed, and was afterwards told by Ministers of State and members of the congress that they had been delighted to be able to follow me so easily. I remember in my young days feeling that my father's insistence in regard to my learning Latin and Greek was not among his many admirable qualities; but I have since been grateful for that training on two principal grounds: first, the clearness and sense of form which one gets from the classics, and, second, the wonderful assistance one gets from them in the use of one's own language.

One of the events which I recall in connexion with another visit to France is the great water-spout which happened while we were there. So remarkable was it that the news was flashed all

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over Europe. We were driving to the Elysée in motor cars at the time of its occurrence, and, as a matter of fact, had only just passed along one street when suddenly the roadway collapsed.

While writing of our French Allies, I may express my pride in having known three French Presidents—M. Loubet, M. Fallières and M. Poincaré—besides coming in contact with many Ministers of State. I was very greatly impressed by some remarks made by M. Loubet when he was President. He spoke of the political effects of great industries and of commerce. He said that they must inevitably tend to stimulate international friendship. Their example to the world was one of international good will. Frontiers were not, he believed, absolutely permanent parts of the scheme of things. To the railways, telephone and telegraph there were no frontiers, nor were there any to the great cotton industry. Thus already the national frontiers had been broken down, and a time would come when invention and industry would carry that good work farther. This was in 1905, at a reception at the Elysée, when no shadow of what was to happen in 1914 had crossed the minds of the great majority of the people of Europe. I believed in M. Loubet's words then, and I believe in them to-day. The world did not learn the lesson

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of harmony at that time, but I have no doubt that when once the chaos arising from the Great War has been reduced to order, men will see that co-operation in the work of feeding, clothing and fulfilling the other needs of mankind is vastly superior to destroying one another on outworn fields of battle.

President Fallières was a personality one could not fail to find interesting. He had the greatest passion for knowledge. I recall the pertinent questions he put to me concerning the extent of the cotton industry; and when I told him that its estimated annual value, at prices then ruling, was five hundred million pounds sterling, he showed great amazement. "A gigantic industry," was his exclamation.

M. Poincaré received us a few weeks before the outbreak of war. Since then he has played an exalted part in his country's history. None of the many French personalities whom I have met struck me as having quite the rich individuality of President Poincaré. More than one writer on French politics at this period—nearly three years after the war—describe him as being still, though no longer in official harness, the most powerful man in France. He is unmistakably a man to be reckoned with. His hold on his countrymen arises, in part, from the fact that he is ever and

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always the essential Frenchman, the embodiment of his countrymen's psychology. He is the soul of France. And just as he expresses truly the best feeling of Frenchmen, so does he exhibit that spirit of intellectual inquiry and realism for which the mentality of France is celebrated. His passion for facts impressed me greatly. He seemed to want to get to the very core of his subject when putting wide and very searching inquiries about the cotton industry. Nor was he slow to assume command of his material. Once he was informed of the significant facts, they all fell into place in his logical mind, and his mastery and grasp of them became apparent immediately.

President Loubet was the first head of any State to receive the committee of the International Cotton Federation. This was when they met in Paris in 1905. It was President Fallières who conferred on me, as President of the International Cotton Federation, the coveted distinction of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. At that time I was one of the comparatively few foreigners who had been so honoured by France, a fact which was significant of the high estimation in which that country held the industry I had the honour of representing.

CHAPTER VIII

EXPERIENCES IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

DURING the eleven years I was president of the International Federation of the Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations the committee were received by the rulers and Ministers of State in many of the countries of Europe. By some remarkable chance these visits to continental countries in several cases coincided with serious commotion in political opinion.

For instance, on the occasion of our visit to Berlin the Agadir crisis suddenly developed, rendering the utmost tact on the part of our delegation necessary. And again, on our arrival at Lisbon we were received by the President of the Provisional Government which arose out of the revolution that ended the kingdom of Portugal. I shall not here try to touch upon the political aspects of these upheavals of national feeling, but shall simply give a sketch of how the unstable environment affected a body of industrial leaders visiting the countries during times of crises.

The year following the meetings in England the third Congress was held in Germany, and very

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elaborate preparations were made. The opening session took place at Bremen, and when commencing to read my annual report I noticed a large number of ladies in the gallery and expressed my satisfaction in seeing so many of them taking an interest in the great cotton industry which gives employment to millions of women and is largely engaged in providing the clothing of women.

An elaborate programme of business meetings and social functions was carried out most successfully, and afterwards a three days' cruise from Bremerhaven to Kiel, through the canal, was arranged by the North German Lloyd Steamship Company. Their liner, the *Gneisenau*, had been specially fitted up for the trip, being the largest boat which at that time could navigate the canal, and the cooks and stewards from the liner *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, which was lying at Bremerhaven, were temporarily transferred to the *Gneisenau*. She anchored in Kiel Harbour just a quarter of a mile from the German Emperor's yacht. William II happened at that time to be holding the annual inspection of his fleet, and as the whole German nation was then concentrating upon building up naval power, the interest in the big procession of battleships, to anyone who could get a view of it, was very great. The Kaiser loved these spectacular displays, as everyone knows, and

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was generally anxious and pleased to show the fleet to representatives of other nationalities.

A tremendous fuss was made about us, much to our surprise. Previous arrangements had been made for the committee of the International Cotton Federation to be received on board the Emperor's yacht, and an aide-de-camp came to the *Gneisenau* to acquaint us with the Kaiser's wishes. The aide-de-camp told us that the Kaiser had no liking for frock coats and silk hats aboard ship, and would prefer that the members of the committee should come in yachting suits. This was a poser for some of our party. The members of the committee who belonged to inland centres had never required yachting costume, having been, in the main, much too occupied in their commercial affairs to think of so expensive and time-absorbing a recreation as sailing. Yet here was an expression of the Kaiser's wishes in the matter. We could scarcely refuse the invitation to his yacht, yet we could not conform with his request. We therefore deliberated what was to be done. It was evident that we should look a little odd if one or two went in yachting suits and the others in silk hats and frock coats, so we unanimously ruled out the former. And there was nothing left but to go in the frock coats and silk hats or in some more work-a-day attire. We decided that it was better

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to have that touch of formality which the more ceremonious costume provided. After a good deal of running to and fro this course was agreed to by the Master of Ceremonies.

When we had taken up the position on the quarter-deck assigned to us, the Kaiser, in the full-dress uniform of an admiral, his breast ablaze with decorations, and attended by his aides-de-camp, came to receive us. Herr Plate, chairman of the North German Lloyd Company, presented me to the Emperor. He gripped my hand and shook it with such strength and vigour that I was greatly surprised. Speaking excellent English, with only a slight guttural sound to mar it, he commenced by saying : "I see you have had the assistance of the ladies." For the moment I could not think what he meant, but then it flashed across my mind that he was referring to the remarks I had made in opening my address at Bremen, which had been reported in the newspapers. He went on to make quite clear that that was in his mind. I was not sure from the tone of his remarks that he entirely approved of women taking part in public movements of any kind. I rather fancy he thought the domestic sphere was wide enough for them.

On that matter I may say at once that in my view such an attitude is entirely wrong. I have always felt, in a long career of public effort, that

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no co-operation is more valuable than that of women. Their clear vision and practical common sense, their readiness to endure hardship in a good cause, and their perception of the finer distinctions and aspects of a subject which are not readily seen by men, make whatever aid they give to big public movements invaluable.

I should have recorded that when we got to the Kaiser's yacht it was our impression that we were to be entertained to luncheon, that having been the original arrangement. When we had boarded the yacht, however, there was considerable stir and we were informed that Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, had unexpectedly arrived to transact important business, and that, under the circumstances, it would be impossible for the Kaiser to carry out his intention to entertain the committee to luncheon, a fact he very greatly regretted.

During his conversation with me the Kaiser asked many apt questions about the cotton industry. He had apparently studied the subject. He wanted to know about the prospects of developing cotton-growing, along the lines of the work of the British Cotton Growing Association, in the colonies of European countries, especially those of Germany. He also asked most pertinent questions about the development of the cotton industry as a

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whole, and how its growth in Germany compared with that in other countries. All through the interview he impressed me by his evident interest in, and knowledge of, great industries, and showed himself to be a practical man of affairs. I had no great difficulty in answering his questions, having the facts and figures at my fingers' ends; but I confess to some surprise that one who quite obviously had so many preoccupations should have had so full a knowledge of this industry and so complete a realization of its importance in clothing the people of the world. I thanked the Kaiser, who was the second Head of State to receive the committee, for the gracious welcome he had accorded us, and expressed the hope that he would lend his great influence to the promotion of the work, which was not only of so much importance to one of the world's great industries, but was, I ventured to think, encouraging friendly relations among the nations and thus promoting the peace of the world. His reply was, "Oh, certainly; but I cannot hope to compete with the ladies." This reception was the last function of a very successful congress, after which we returned in the *Gneisenau* to Bremerhaven and thence to our respective countries.

Not only was there a yearly congress in

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various countries, but committee meetings were held between the congresses. Of all the experiences I had in foreign countries when leading the International Cotton Federation, I think that the most trying and thrilling was that of arriving in Berlin to attend a committee meeting at a critical period in the Agadir crisis. At home in England feeling about the matter was not intense till after the danger had blown over. But in Berlin, on the night of our arrival, the air was electric with rumours, and we soon learned that we had come to the German capital just at a time when a sudden crisis was straining relations between Britain and Germany almost to breaking point.

Herr Kiderlen-Wächter was to have received us at the Foreign Office but was so deeply engaged in affairs of international policy that he could not keep the appointment. He sent his secretary to receive us, conferring on me, as chairman, the Order of the Red Eagle, on the Kaiser's instructions. He also sent a message that the Emperor was four hundred miles away or would himself have given us a personal welcome. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg was to have entertained us, but he, like Herr Kiderlen-Wächter, was too engrossed by the sudden crisis and had to be excused from doing so. He deputed that duty to Dr.

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Delbrück, who was at that time Minister in Charge of Home Affairs.

We had arrived on a Sunday night, and the reception took place on the next day. On the evening of this eventful Monday we were entertained by the Merchants' Corporation of Berlin, a remarkable and powerful body of commercial men who, among other things, had at the time 6,000 students engaged in the study of industry and commerce. Every man of note in Berlin who was not engaged in dealing with the international crisis was at this function, held in an immense hall, which glittered with brilliant lights and, it seemed to me, palpitated with anxious and disturbed feelings. Being the principal guest, I was taken into the room by Herr Kämpf, then Vice-President of the Reichstag, and later, during the war, its President.

I had naturally a deep sense of the overhanging crisis. One could not get away from it. In the Government circles in Berlin that night it was realized that great forces which might end in a staggering clash of arms were only leashed by the slenderest of bonds. At any moment they might break loose. The speech I had prepared was useless on such an occasion. I felt that I could only await inspiration when the time to stand up came, having on numerous occasions found that the

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appropriate words have come when wanted, and I had confidence that they would not fail me now when the need was greatest. Herr Kämpf proposed the toast of the International Cotton Federation, making a model speech characterized by temperateness and friendship for England and consideration for the guests of the evening. And then it fell to me to respond, as the president of the Federation. I do not think I ever rose to my feet with a greater burden of responsibility; for, although we representatives of the cotton industry of the world had no power or place in the negotiations then going on between the two nations, our presence on that particular night at a function in Berlin made it incumbent upon us to do what lay in our power to interpret the spirit of the average commercial man.

I recall vividly the words I used. I said: "I am quite certain that not one of us round this festive board, having met amid rumours of war, has the slightest conception of what a war between two great European Powers in these days would mean. It is now forty years or so since we had experience of war between two great European nations. What has happened in those forty years? There has been an enormous growth of population, a tremendous development of industry and commerce, and the intricacies of international finance

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are greater than ever in history. Germany has become England's best customer, and England Germany's. England and France have a vast international trade too. The yearly trade between Germany and England is about 120 million pounds sterling, and between France and England 80 millions. Colossal as are these figures, they are trifling to what would be thrown away if a war between two Continental Powers were to take place. If war occurs between European Powers victor and vanquished will come out of it ruined." These words received quite an ovation from my hearers. Looking back on that speech, after the Great War of 1914-18, I cannot help feeling that the words were little short of prophetic.

The next night a reception was given by Dr. Delbrück, on behalf of the Chancellor, at his official residence. Representatives of the federated German States had come to Berlin in connexion with the crisis, and many of them were present at Dr. Delbrück's reception. The place was simply a blaze of decorations. The only ladies present were the Minister's wife and daughter, and it fell to me to take Frau Delbrück in to supper. I remember that we entered a room in which there was a large number of small tables instead of several large ones as is customary in England on such occasions; and at the table to

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which I had to conduct Frau Delbrück were a German prince and Herr Kiderlen-Wächter, the latter looking a complete wreck through his recent harassments and exertions.

I cannot remember the names of the other important personages who sat at this table. When we entered into conversation, after the formalities were over, Frau Delbrück said to me: "I am really very pleased indeed to meet you, for I have been watching very closely your great scheme for establishing harmony between Capital and Labour. My husband has recently had to do with the Berlin labour riots, and we have always looked to England for examples of how to deal wisely with great industrial matters."

Frau Delbrück then went on to make some remarks which can only be understood by remembering that 1911 was the year of the great strikes in England. She said: "We formerly looked to England for an example. But what is going on among your people now seems to show that you are following in our ways; and I venture to predict that we shall some day, before long, have revolution in Germany, which will be followed by revolution in your country." I venture to believe that her prophecy as to her own country received a fulfilment she little dreamed of and that her prophecy as to this country will not be fulfilled.

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Her whole conversation showed remarkable insight and knowledge. She told me of the visits of the Kaiser to Ministers of State and to great industrial leaders; of his summoning them to stay with him at Potsdam whenever he felt he required their help and advice, this being done without publicity. Here was one part of the secret of the Kaiser's unmistakable popularity and strength among his people before the war. He was, so to speak, hand in glove with the men who ran the great industries of the country. Through his intercourse with practical men accustomed to control great industrial affairs he mastered the details of Germany's leading industries and made his individual contribution to their success. A certain practical common sense was evident in many of his actions. For instance, he once said of the wife of the chairman of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company whom I knew: "I understand your wife has a most wonderful kitchen. Very well, I am going to bring the Kaiserin to stay with you for a few days so that she may master the details of that kitchen." The Kaiser in those days certainly did seem to have his hand on the levers of German affairs. The industrial and commercial leaders were summoned to Potsdam, or he went to stay with them. Precisely the same thing happened to

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his Ministers; they never knew when they were to expect him. They never knew what he was wanting, but they had always to be ready.

This knowledge of men and affairs on the part of the Kaiser enabled him at once to put the right men in the right place in mobilizing the industries for war.

On few of our visits to foreign countries had we more memorable experiences than in Austria in May, 1907. The reception given to us by the Viennese was magnificent. The people seemed actuated by the utmost cordiality. One cannot imagine how two such countries as England and Austria could so soon afterwards come to blows, and one is convinced that had Austria been a free agent she never would have quarrelled with us.

Royalty as well as the populace did everything possible to make the visit of the delegates a success. The committee of the Federation were received most graciously at the Hofburg Palace by the Emperor Francis Joseph, there being present at this function also representatives of the Government and foreign ambassadors.

The following day we saw the Emperor again, but this time walking bareheaded at a Corpus Christi festival and in one of the most striking street processions I ever saw. Dignitaries of the

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Church and State in all their pomp and regalia, monks in their simple dress, types of the Austrian Army in their brilliant uniforms, and white-robed choristers were features of a display carried out on a colossal scale; and the sight of the monarch casting off his dignity and joining bare-headed with the meanest of his subjects in a great religious celebration was most impressive.

One circumstance in connexion with the royal favour shown to us did not make its impression until long afterwards. During the congress week we visited the Royal Summer Palace, a beautiful place outside Vienna, and here, I remember, we met a personality who had little idea of the tragic fate in store for him, and how his name would go down to posterity in connexion with the greatest war in history. I refer to the Archduke Francis, the prince whose assassination at Serajevo on June 28, 1914, was the immediate cause or excuse for the beginning of the Great European War.

I ought not perhaps to omit the mention of the programme of delightful entertainments our Viennese friends had arranged for us. We retain many pleasant memories of their kindness, and the glorious day in the Semmering Mountains, with which the visit was wound up, is unforgettable.

CHAPTER IX

CONGRESSES IN ITALY AND BELGIUM

I HAVE previously referred to the strange fact that our visits to European countries so frequently coincided with occasions when national feelings were aroused or moved by some great international event. In 1909 the annual International Cotton Congress was held in Italy. The earthquake at Messina had a little time previously stirred the sympathies of all the world, and at the time of our arrival Italy was still in mourning for the victims. King Victor Immanuel received us at the Quirinal, and in his first words apologized for the absence of the Queen, telling us that she had been attacked at the scene of the earthquake by a distressed woman who had lost her reason owing to the shock, and that the Queen had not yet recovered from the effects of this untoward experience. We knew well the brave and self-sacrificing part the King and Queen of Italy had played during the calamity, and expressed our sympathy with and admiration of the Queen. The King showed an engaging personality, and perhaps no better compliment could be paid to

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him than to say he was what the English call "homely." I can imagine no more estimable gift in a monarch than the power to lay aside on proper occasions the pomp and circumstance of great position and to speak as man to man with his fellows. King Victor Immanuel did so with us, sacrificing no jot or tittle of his kingly dignity. Our own Royal House have this gift *par excellence*, and none more than the young and gallant Prince of Wales, whose gifts and general loveliness have captured the hearts and the imagination of the Empire.

The King related many of his experiences at the scene of the earthquake. They were then fresh in his mind, and he described them with touches of thrilling detail which gave us a far better picture of what had taken place than we had been able to gather from the newspaper accounts of the disaster. For a short while His Majesty entered into personal talk with me, and it was a surprise to see how real a knowledge of affairs he possessed. In conversation with the committee as a whole, he expressed his indebtedness to the International Cotton Federation for their assistance in promoting the International Institute of Agriculture, an organization dear to his heart. He alluded in a very complimentary way to the work I had done in bringing the Institute to a

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solid existence by intervening at a critical time and persuading the English Chancellor of the Exchequer to include in his Budget figures a levy for the sum to be paid by England in connexion with the Institute.

I need not here tell again the whole story of the movement to found the International Institute of Agriculture, as it has already been dealt with in this volume. But I may say, in explanation of what the King said in this interview, that the movement to found the Institute was in a parlous state owing to official shortsightedness and neglect when I began my efforts to win for it a proper recognition from our own Government. From the first the King of Italy had, however, shown the greatest interest in it, and, as is known, himself at a later stage provided the beautiful home for its headquarters in Rome. I had a fight with bureaucracy in advocating the just claims of this great movement, and felt, naturally, very much gratified when the King of Italy paid personal tribute to the work I had been able to do.

The King was well equipped in knowledge of the cotton industry, a fact which naturally pleased us; but one could see that his chief concern was the interests of agriculture. It was of cotton as a plant that he spoke most interestingly. He reminded us that this plant was some centuries

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ago extensively cultivated in the districts round Rome. One of his most interesting remarks was a comparison of the growth of the International Cotton Federation and the International Institute of Agriculture. The former, he said, in the natural order of events, must increase the more rapidly. Run by business men with a knowledge of practical affairs, it had an advantage, in his judgment, over an organization which was promoted by Governments and carried on by delegates of Governments. In this remark is a deep truth. It is no reproach to Government servants. It is simply a recognition of the faults and delays inherent in all systems controlled by the State.

It was in the beautiful building provided by the King at his own expense for the International Institute of Agriculture that we met Count Faina, then President of the Institute. In front of the most magnificent view of Rome in the sunlight we were entertained in the roof garden. The palatial headquarters of the Institute are set in a wonderful garden, which glowed then with all the beauty, freshness and verdure of spring in the rich Italian climate. The Count, later, gave a banquet to us. There were many distinguished people present, including ladies. I took the Countess Faina in to dinner. This gave rise to one of those difficulties which can only be solved if you see the

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comedy of the situation, for I knew nothing of Italian, and my hostess nothing of English. We were therefore condemned either to silence or dumb show. Nevertheless, we were able to communicate at least our good will and friendly sentiments and to get through the occasion perhaps with less of boredom than if we had been possessed of readier means of communication. Intuition and good humour may do much at such times.

During the evening Count Faina made a fine speech on the world's agriculture and on the purpose and scope of the International Institute. David Lubin—a great and wonderful man, of whom I speak elsewhere—followed with a personal reference to myself, which was very high recompense for the support I had given to him when I took up his plan to found the Institute of Agriculture at a time when his efforts seemed doomed to failure. Calling upon me to speak, he said they all wanted to hear one who “had had a vital share in founding the International Institute of Agriculture, and but for whom it might never have come into existence.” I made the remark of the King of Italy, that we should all work together though belonging to separate nations, the text of my response. It gave me an opportunity of saying what I most firmly believed—that harmony and conciliation are the best bond between

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peoples. Some people have lost that belief since the Great War. I hold to it as firmly to-day as ever in my life. I think the war has only shown the greater need of these principles. In our International Cotton Federation, as in the International Institute of Agriculture, men of numerous nations worked together in harmony for the good of all. Why should not the Nations do the same?

Italy did not fall behind any of the other countries that had entertained us. The business meetings of the congress were held in Milan, and from there we took an excursion to the blue waters of Lake Maggiore, this trip undoubtedly being the gem of the whole tour. From Milan we went to Florence, and from Florence to Rome, and thence to Naples, where we visited the sites of the buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and also made the ascent of Vesuvius.

While in Rome we had a long run along the Appian Way, from which one obtains a comprehensive idea of the magnitude of the Eternal City, and took lunch at an hotel perched upon the edge of an extinct volcano. From our seats at the tables in the hotel we could see the whole contour of the crater, the sides of which were lined with vines and the bottom filled with deep black water.

At the time we made this trip the Appian

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Way, we found afterwards, had an unsavoury reputation, and we were congratulated on our return on having escaped robbery or even worse. It appeared that it was no uncommon thing for motorists to be held up on this famous highway, the playful habit of the bandits being to scatter broken glass along the road and to bring the cars to a standstill by puncturing their tyres. We never quite made out whether we had happened to make the journey on the robbers' off-day, or whether the security vouchsafed to us was one of the many acts of politeness which the Italians showed to us on that memorable tour. Shortly after our return from Italy, King Victor Immanuel conferred upon me the decoration of Commander of the Crown of Italy.

The next meeting of the congress was at Brussels in June, 1910. As I mentioned before, I had written an article on the cotton industry for the *Revue Economique Internationale*, which is published in Brussels. When I was presented to King Albert I felt much pleased to find that, six years after its publication, he still remembered it. He told me that his father, the Comte de Flandre, had been deeply interested by it, and that he himself had been enabled thereby to grasp something of the magnitude of the cotton industry.

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Belgium's cotton industry, he said, was relatively very small, but he was delighted that his country had been associated with our international movement from the first, and that its seventh annual congress was being held in that country. He conferred on me the Order of Leopold in appreciation of the work done by the International Cotton Federation and myself, its founder.

With M. Jean de Hemptinne (now the Comte de Hemptinne), as the kindly and genial leader of the local reception committee, the meetings in Brussels could not be other than successful. When the congress was not in session there were abundant attractions for the delegates, in addition to the banquets and entertainments, for it was exhibition year in the Belgian capital.

One of the days was set apart for a visit to the fine old town of Ghent. There we lunched at the famous château, and saw a number of sights for which the city is famous, not forgetting the great Ghent canal. I had been asked to prepare a comprehensive paper on the history of the cotton industry of the world from the earliest times, and this I read to a large audience during our stay in the city.

CHAPTER X

IN PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND HOLLAND

OUR visit to Lisbon in 1911, which, as I have already said, fell shortly after the Revolution, was undertaken against the advice of the British Foreign Office. We were told that things were all in a state of tension, and that fresh outbreaks might occur among the populace. Two of our earliest experiences there were sufficiently impressive in the contrasts they offered to our minds. In the cathedral church we were taken to see the embalmed bodies of King Carlos and his son, assassinated in Black Horse Square a short time previously, which were preserved in accordance with national custom and open to popular view. Then, as if it had been specially desired to impress us with the extraordinary way in which earthly institutions may change as with a breath of wind, we were conveyed to the Royal Palace at Cintra—joyous and sparkling only a few weeks before with the society of the young King—to be there entertained by the Provisional Government. The setting was exactly as King Manoel and his

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mother, Queen Amelie, had left it when compelled to flee into safety.

We have since seen the same drama repeated on a bigger scale, but in circumstances which prepared us to witness it with less shock to the feelings than when it arose against a background of European peacefulness in Portugal. I shall never forget the profound feelings aroused in us. Men's affairs are as unstable as water. There in Cintra we saw the same permanent garment of loveliness with which Nature clothes the glorious place praised by Fielding two centuries earlier : a rich scent of flowers and a vision of gorgeous colours all around ; even the rocks wearing their ornaments where the camellias were growing. The palace, with its luxurious furnishings undisturbed ; but within the palace a new order, the sceptre in fresh hands, the sobs of the excluded few drowned by the loud cries of the masses.

I had an amusing experience during the stay in Lisbon. During the morning we had a business meeting, after which we were going a considerable distance into the country for the afternoon. I returned to the hotel to change my clothes, and while I was doing this the others of our party had left in detachments, each party believing I was with the others. I could not find anyone at the

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moment who understood English, and therefore could not explain what had happened or where I wanted to go. At length I managed to get someone who seemed to grasp the fact that I wanted to get to the station so as to catch a train to the place in which our party was being entertained. I knew that the station was not more than a mile away. A motor-car was brought, and I set out in hopes of overtaking my friends. Instead, the motor-car went bowling on through the city, then through straggling suburbs, and then out into desolate country roads, sometimes running between bleak, cave-like banks. I could not understand the meaning of this dismal ride, and all my gesticulations seemed to be quite incomprehensible to the driver. We had been so much warned of the dangers of travel in Portugal at that particular time that I began to wonder whether the driver was plotting some mischief, for the whole character of the route made capture by brigands look a very easy probability; and when tyre trouble occurred at the loneliest spot on the road, and several shrouded figures came round the car, I felt that the possibilities of the situation might not be as remote from brigandage as I had been inclined to think when first the idea entered my head. Although looking perfect villains in that setting, the new-comers proved to be quite constitutional,

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helping us in our troubles and getting the tyres into order again.

Soon we arrived at the place of entertainment, where our delegation, having discovered my absence and having exaggerated notions of the dangers of the road—due, as in my own fears, to the warnings that had been given us—had been filled with anxiety. By dint of interrogation by those who spoke the native language it was found that my motor driver had seen that the train that I wished to catch at Lisbon had gone, and, knowing my ultimate destination, had driven straight on thither, over the many miles of deserted country roads.

On this Continental tour we also visited Spain. A splendid reception awaited us at Madrid, where the King, Queen, Queen Mother and the Spanish Ministers of State welcomed us at a reception at the Royal Palace. Here also events of a turbulent character had taken place. We saw the carriage of the King and Queen in which they drove on their marriage day, and which still had upon it the marks of the bullets fired in the attack on that day. Among those present at the reception was the Infanta, who died very shortly afterwards.

King Alfonso talked with me for some time. It was quite clear he had studied the cotton

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industry. During our conversation he reminded me that Barcelona had, three hundred years ago, held the position in the cotton industry of the world that Manchester holds to-day, and added that he scarcely thought this would ever be so again. I replied that a study of the cotton industry from the earliest times led me to the conclusion that it was impossible to say what might occur in the evolution of time. Though this is true, I have my doubts as to Barcelona ever proving a rival to Manchester!

With the Queen of Spain I also had a very interesting conversation. She began by saying that she was "so delighted to have a talk with one of her own countrymen." She then expressed the pleasure she derived from planning her visits to England, which, she said playfully, she always tried to extend. She referred to the recent death of her uncle—King Edward—and said it would mean a tremendous change to England to be without his sagacious counsel. Between her and the Queen Mother of Spain, who was also present, there was a remarkable contrast, for the latter, true to her race and its customs, wore magnificent jewellery. The Queen herself was most simply dressed; her rare beauty seemed to dispense with all ornament quite easily. I gathered she was then seeking to reduce the expenses of

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the Court and get back to a more simplified life.

We had an interesting experience in Barcelona—the city of bombs. On arriving, I found myself in a very awkward situation. It was a Sunday morning when we reached the city, and we found that a bullfight had been specially arranged for that day in our honour. I felt I could not go. It was against all my instincts to witness such a spectacle, and after hard thinking I came to the conclusion that the punctilios of the guest must give way to higher considerations. It needed courage to decline to go, but I felt it was the only course I could take. I told our hosts that I appreciated the honour very greatly, but could not bring myself to witness a bullfight. They received this decision with true Spanish courtesy. The rest of our party went to the contest, and afterwards confessed their horror at what they had seen.

Another English commercial figure happened to be in Barcelona at the time, a man of wealth, well known, not for the part he played in leading industry, but for his wealth and the social uses he had made of it. I was told that it had been intended that the toreador was to present me with the bull's head. It was presented to the other visitor instead.

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We were all fascinated by Barcelona, a city combining some of the diverse features of Paris and Manchester, and having in addition adjacent sea and mountain scenery. The people, we observed, worked an hour or two in the morning and rested during the heat of the day, and afterwards again went back to their occupations.

The times were excited, as I have said, and shortly before our arrival in the city anarchists were marched up a hill and shot. The royal box at the theatre was not the place where it was most pleasant to be with the populace in the insurgent mood of those days. Yet I was conducted to it, and obliged by the occasion to wear all my decorations. It struck me that it was a happy circumstance that I was not, even to the dimmest sight, like the King, who has, however, since won such great popularity with the people.

The King of Spain conferred on me at this time the Gran Cruz del Mérito Agrícola, in recognition of my work in developing the cotton fields of the world. I may here say that though I have decorations from the leading countries in Europe, I have never, save on one occasion, worn them all at once in this country. The odd occasion was at a function in the Manchester Town Hall, when the Lord Mayor pressed me very earnestly to put them on at the civic reception of a

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Manchester man who had become Lord Mayor of London.

The last international cotton congress, held before the outbreak of war, took place in Holland in June, 1913, and was notable for a new departure. The Dutch members decided to establish a precedent by taking the congress away from a great centre and holding it at a seaside resort, and consequently the principal functions in connexion with the meetings of the Federation were held in the Kurhaus at Scheveningen. The innovation was in every respect successful, and the place selected proved to be quite convenient for carrying out our work.

As in other countries we had visited, the members of the reigning house took the greatest interest in the congress proceedings, and the committee of the Federation received an invitation to appear before the Queen at the Royal Palace of Loo. Before being entertained at a luncheon at the palace, presided over by the Prince Consort, we were received in audience by the Queen, who conversed with each member, speaking in English, German or French as the occasion demanded.

In addition to showing her interest in the work of the International Cotton Federation, Her

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Majesty had a talk with me in regard to the British Lifeboat Service. Her special and particular interest in a work I had very much at heart was no doubt due partly to her obviously wide sympathies in all great movements, and partly to the fact that her husband, the Prince Consort, had some time before rendered notable assistance in the saving of the passengers and crew of a British vessel wrecked somewhere off the coast of Holland.

The reception and luncheon over, the Prince Consort accompanied us on a long drive through the palace grounds, and in conversation showed himself to be particularly well informed with respect to the doings in the cotton industry. I had another opportunity of noting the Prince's interest in industrial matters at a banquet given at The Hague later on, and also of finding that he was a man of some business ability.

The last-named qualification was shown in a conversation we had as to the new Palace of Peace, then nearing completion. On discovering that I was a friend of Mr. Carnegie, the donor of the building, the Prince asked if I could not use my influence with the millionaire towards getting an endowment fund established for the upkeep of the great hall. The prince agreed that the object aimed at by Mr. Carnegie was in every respect

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admirable, but to put down a building at the cost of half a million pounds sterling and leave it without an endowment was to involve the country where it was situated in an enormous expense. In this respect, of course, the prince showed himself to be a practical man of affairs.

During the week we visited many places of interest, including the town of Delft.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATIONS

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA

IN 1907 and 1912 respectively I organized and led international delegations to the United States and Egypt. Although under the auspices of the International Cotton Federation, these delegations were much wider in their scope than that body and did not represent any definite organization.

In 1906 a Lancashire private cotton investigation commission, which at my suggestion had been promoted by leading Lancashire spinners, visited the cotton-growing States of America twice—first at the time of planting and then at that of picking; and this commission had paved the way for the large delegation I led in the year following. The commission, it should be said, was a remarkable success, and the report it issued on the cost of growing cotton in the States, and the methods of ginning, baling, handling, marketing and transporting the product was the most comprehensive and valuable that had hitherto been issued, and contained advice which has been the means of showing how a tremendous

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waste of money in handling the cotton crop could be saved.

The report, which among other things recommended the purchase of land in America for cotton-growing purposes, in order that its productiveness might be increased and better methods adopted in cultivation, harvesting and transport, had a very large circulation in all the principal languages of the world, and led to a request being made that I should organize an international delegation of cotton spinners and others to visit America and make further observations on the spot.

We accordingly visited America, where we made a tour extending over 4,600 miles, visiting the Cotton States and interviewing authorities everywhere. The principal object of the delegation was to attend a three days' conference at Atlanta, Georgia, to which were invited not only representative cotton spinners and manufacturers, but cotton growers in the Southern States and members of the cotton exchanges of the world. The conference at Atlanta, held in October, 1907, was attended by fully eight hundred delegates.

Most of the European members of the delegation to Atlanta sailed from Liverpool on the Cunard ss. *Campania*, and the chairman of the

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company, who received us on board, informed us that he had given special instructions to Captain Dow, R.N.R., who became Commodore of the Cunard fleet later, that every attention should be given to our comfort. With so much kindly consideration as we received the voyage could not fail in being enjoyable.

As we approached New York the *Campania* was invaded by an army of Press representatives seeking interviews. Having been forewarned of this I had prepared a summary of anything I cared to say to them regarding the objects of the international delegation's visit, copies of which were handed out by the secretaries who were with me, and I was enabled to get on with other work securely locked in my cabin. This plan saved me an immense amount of inconvenience. It had its amusing side too, for use was made of the information throughout our tour, and if our arrangements were upset by unforeseen circumstances, it still enabled the enterprising Press reporter to make up copy for his newspaper. I had to miss speaking at several of these centres. The pressmen, however, declined to notice my absence on these occasions, and it is on record that I delivered speeches at places I had not visited.

On landing I received an invitation to address

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the members of the Arkwright Club, at Boston, of which a large number of the American cotton spinners and manufacturers are members. I took advantage of the opportunity to urge upon the members the importance of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Associations becoming officially connected with the International Cotton Federation. Their co-operation has always been of the most amicable character, but their incorporation with the international body was essential if the best results were to be obtained.

I returned to Rhode Island, where I was for the time being the guest of Mr. James R. MacColl, the president of the conference, who was and is still a leading figure in the American cotton industry. From his home in Rhode Island I had to catch a train next day to New York, where in the evening I was to be principal guest at a dinner at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, given by the New York Cotton Association, and which was presided over by the president of the Association. I arrived at the station just in time, as it seemed, for the train to New York. A slight delay occurred in getting a ticket, a delay which would not have greatly mattered, as another train for New York was almost due. But though I chafed under it, the delay proved very fortunate for me, as the train by which I was to have travelled

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was run into by the one I eventually took. The collision was not very serious, though many people suffered a nasty shock and some were bruised. The incident brought home to me the amazing promptitude of the American newspaper men, for, as if they had sprung from the ground, there were reporters all over the platform seeking interviews with the passengers in the colliding trains, and other newspaper men with cameras taking snapshots of the passengers, the trains and the scene on the station. The collision caused considerable delay, and I got to the dinner only just in time, and without having had any opportunity of meditating in quiet upon what I was going to say. The happenings of the journey had not given me any opportunity or the mood to assemble the subjects or the headings of my speech.

When I was seated by the president and had exchanged greetings with a number of people whom I knew, I had another experience of the American newspaper man. A reporter came forward and said: "Mr. Macara, I shall be so glad if you will let me have a copy of your manuscript." I replied: "I have neither manuscript nor notes, nor do I know what I am going to say." This occasioned considerable surprise, since all the other principal speakers had already handed to the Press

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manuscripts of their forthcoming speeches, a habit which was then much more prevalent in the United States than in this country, though our own public speakers have copied it extensively during later years. Of course I had no intention of inflicting on my distinguished audience, among whom were Senators, Congressmen and leaders of industry, any ill-considered remarks, as might have been inferred from my having no visible proof of preparation. My whole commercial and public life had been a sort of preparation for occasions of that kind; the subject of industry and commerce in its widest applications was one with which I was from day to day in closest touch, and I have always found that, given the requisite knowledge of one's subject, a speech is much the better when the speaker takes something from the inspiration of his surroundings at the time he is delivering his remarks. So I was not disturbed by the prospect of speaking unaided by notes. I might say here that one interesting personality present on that evening was the famous Miss Giles, who enjoyed an international reputation as a cotton crop estimator. She sat in the gallery where my daughters and other ladies were.

I had some leisure during the early part of the post-dinner programme to watch the American orator's ways. Before long, various great leaders

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were being successively called upon to deliver their speeches. One after another they rose, drew out their manuscripts, delivered their remarks, and sat down. It was remarkable with what numbers of quotations and references to authorities they embellished their speeches, and I learned during many American experiences that not only the speakers but the listeners delighted in these passages. I was a little surprised to see some of these speakers, after completing their task, leave their own seats and take others in front of me; and one of them, probably observing the question arising in my mind, gave this flattering explanation: "Now that we have done our part we are getting down to hear you." It was typical of the American's keenness, which is astonishingly intense when the speaker is believed to be an authority on his subject.

When my own turn came I was conscious that I had a very difficult speech to make. In my propaganda on behalf of the British and the international cotton industry I had denounced in no measured terms this very New York Cotton Association which was entertaining us, for the gambling that it carried on in connexion with the raw material of this industry. Here, then, was a problem. How was one to say what one ought and yet maintain a spirit that would be in keeping with

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the great reception and unbounded hospitality which was being shown? I need not outline the speech with which I contrived to surmount the difficulties. I was, indeed, indebted to inspirations of the moment which I cannot now recall; and I have often found myself fortunate in such situations in being able to face successfully obstacles upon no other resources than the impulses that have arisen unbidden while I was speaking. Next day, as much to my surprise as pleasure, I saw that my speech had been reported at full length. With some trepidation I read the report and was relieved to find that I had managed to steer safely between the reefs besetting my course, saying what I ought to say and yet avoiding offence.

On October 3 the European delegation, accompanied by many leading American cotton manufacturers and other prominent men on their way to the conference at Atlanta, began its journey southward. The train, composed of Pullman palace cars, was about a quarter of a mile long, and was to be our home for nearly four weeks. By the time we returned to New York (October 21), we had travelled 4,600 miles.

Experiences of the unbounded hospitality of the American people marked every step of our

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progress on this wonderful tour. Fifty miles or so away from the centres at which we were to be entertained prominent local representatives boarded our train and discussed the arrangements that had been made for our entertainment. When we stopped at these centres carriages of all descriptions were in waiting to enable us to make the best possible use of our limited stay. Luncheons and dinners were an essential part of these visits, and as I had to speak at every one of them, and was reported fully in the Press, I had constantly to seek for some variety of subject.

On arriving at Atlanta, where we were to remain three days for the Cotton Conference, we experienced American hospitality in all its fervency. But here we had serious business also to attend to. I do not propose to deal with the wide range of subjects discussed at the conference; they were almost exclusively business topics and have found their appropriate record in the report which was subsequently issued from Manchester, England, by the committee of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations. I may say, however, that some of the reforms advocated in the discussions were of so far-reaching a nature that even to-day they still remain unadopted, although

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they have been brought forward again at subsequent conferences.¹

It may be interesting, however, if I touch upon some of the more popular aspects of the sittings of the Atlanta Conference. On the first day the president of the conference, an American citizen, occupied the chair, and the conference was opened with prayer. After the president had delivered his address conflicting interests at once began to show themselves, for here were gathered the men who represented sectional interests—the three main ones being the cotton spinners, Cotton Exchange men, and the planters—and among the delegates were smooth-tongued Senators and Congressmen whose chief aim was to make political capital by championing the interests of the planter, and to argue that the planter and the spinner could work together without the help of the middleman. The president was unfavourably circumstanced for dealing with the warring elements, and the audience soon got so out of hand as to make one think that the subdued opening was but the prelude to a growing discord that would lead to a breakdown of the

¹ In 1919 a second World Cotton Conference was held in New Orleans, and in 1921 a third was held in Manchester and Liverpool. Pressing engagements prevented me from taking part in these conferences, but in both cases I wrote comprehensive surveys recording the work already accomplished.

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proceedings. However, the worst did not happen.

It was my duty to preside on the next day, and I profited by the first day's experiences. I had devised a plan of procedure which I felt would have a salutary effect. Part of my plan was to be perfectly frank with the men who might promote strife in the discussions, and I opened the proceedings by saying plainly that we visitors had come across the seas to discuss important matters relating to the cotton industry, not to listen to political contentions. We had come determined to deal with business propositions and to advocate reforms. I outlined the three principal interests represented in the meeting, and laid down the ruling that representatives of each interest would be allowed to speak in turn, but that no speech was to exceed ten minutes. When a man has something of value to say, ten minutes may not always prove long enough for him, but the imposition of a time limit has a favourable effect in that it tends to reduce verbosity and the rhetorical flow, which were, in our case, proving the cause of disturbance. It required very great firmness to carry out this ruling, but with my chairman's hammer I brought an end to every speech which was exceeding the limit, whatever the position or standing of the speaker. Once this apparently

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arbitrary method nearly brought trouble. There was a very well-known orator among the speakers, and when, at the expiry of his ten minutes, I attempted to closure his remarks, such a howl went up from his admirers that I deemed it wise to allow him to be the exception to the rule of the day.

I recall one interesting retort made during this day's speeches which is not without a touch of wit. A well-known New York cotton broker spoke of the Exchange man as being similar to the man in the parable who had ten talents and made the best use of them. A well-known South Carolina cotton planter retorted later that the broker might be right, but should have added that the planter was the poor devil who put his one talent into the soil.

During the day's sittings I had to rule out of order Senators who sought to set the planters against the Exchange men. In an interval of the proceedings to enable the leading men of the conference to discuss the proposed resolution, some of the Cotton Exchange representatives came to me to suggest that these attacks should not be permitted. I thoroughly supported this view, and told some of the political speakers that they must recognize that we had not come from Europe to hear them work up old feuds with an eye to

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political support. This course, drastic though it seems, was absolutely necessary. A critical point in the proceedings arose when a resolution was brought forward suggesting certain ways by which the spinner and the planter might eliminate the middleman, or Exchange member. I felt that the test had come with the tabling of this resolution, for if a conference so widely representative as this one had passed the resolution it would have brought confusion to the industry, and would have done an undoubted injustice to the Exchange men, who, I have always held, have a legitimate work to perform. Of course, one makes a very clear distinction between the genuine middleman and the gambler; the latter is not only useless, but a constant danger to the industry. I decided to take a firm attitude. Admitting that the conference was a great and representative one, that it covered most of the cotton interests of the world, I went on to point out that the representatives of the majority of the organizations forming the conference were not authorized to commit them to any such drastic change as was implied in the resolution. We had, I continued, heard the powerful appeals of both sides to the controversy, but all that we were entitled to do was to refer these matters to our organizations. I strengthened my attitude by pointing out that

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there were very many important matters for our consideration which should concern us more than the passing of this resolution. The conference fully appreciated these points, and the most threatening circumstance of my day's chairmanship ended.

The American joy in lampooning came out on the third day, when a well-known planter was to preside. Some little time previously this gentleman and several fellow-countrymen had been to an international congress in Vienna, and exaggerated accounts of what they had achieved there had reached the American public. They had been received by the Emperor Francis Joseph, and other honours had been done them. An American newspaper man wrote a skit about their leader which was urged on the notice of all who were attending the Atlanta Conference, and it was unmistakably funny, if the question of taste be as little regarded as it sometimes is in America.

It depicted this gentleman as having, in his own estimation, made European sovereigns and heads of State "sit up and take notice." "When near Vienna," it said, as nearly as I can remember, "the river ceased to flow and everything came to a standstill in respect for the great man. He went into the presence of the Emperor Francis Joseph, and had not been speaking to the old monarch

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long when the Emperor said appealingly, ' Call me Joe.' The Emperor and the great man embraced," the skit continued, "and while they were doing so the planter slipped money into the latter's right-hand pocket whilst the spinner slipped it into his left." This was, of course, a reference to the sources of the funds which made such European tours possible. It was not an ill-natured squib at all, if one kept the right point of view, and certainly the gentleman lampooned showed no irritation.

On the second day of the conference we were invited to a " Barbecue," a sort of native Indian feast in a grove. The animals for the feast were roasted whole over pits in which were charcoal embers; and we partook of the food, when cooked, as we sat, on very rough benches, set under the trees. A special sauce called " Brunswick stew," which was prepared in a huge cauldron, was served with the roast meat. What with the surroundings of the forest and the primitive cooking and serving of the feast, one felt rather as if one were playing at being an American Indian.

After this feast there followed, some hours later, a progressive dinner, an ingenious invention to enable a larger number of the residents than would otherwise be possible, owing to our short stay, to entertain the delegation. We went in succession during the evening to a number of

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beautiful houses radiant with the spirit of hospitality. At each house we received one course of the progressive dinner until, at midnight, we arrived at the house of the Governor of Georgia for the last course.

It was an interesting and delightful experience, but, following upon my arduous work and the "Barbecue," I found it not a little fatiguing, and it was imperative that I should take some rest. A quiet trip into the back settlements, away from the official route, was therefore arranged, and what is called an officer's railway car was placed at my disposal for the journey. This officer's car was a very comfortable, compact and elaborate affair, and included drawing- and dining-rooms, sleeping apartments, and full kitchen equipment. Thus accommodated, our little party, which included my daughters and a few friends, left the big train and went off on an expedition to explore some of the out-of-the-way places off the beaten track.

It was a memorable and enjoyable picnic in a land of extensive cotton plantations. Everywhere we went we were received with that old-world courtesy for which the Southern planter has always been famous. At one place, I remember, the owner insisted that we should spend the night at his house—one of those large wooden mansions so

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much in evidence in the Southern States. Here we had a glimpse of the real life of the cotton planter, living in solitary state, surrounded by his negro workers. Our host was a fine-looking man, a true type of the planter, and one who might easily have stepped from the pages of one of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's books. We were treated with profuse hospitality, and waited upon by negroes.

In the morning we inspected the plantation, riding on mules or in buggies, being accompanied by the two handsome sons of our host, who, mounted and in planter's rig with pistols in their holsters, supplied the traditional picture of the Southern cotton planter as he goes about amongst his darkies. A suggestion was made that the delegation should acquire this estate, but we found it had not been a very successful one owing to the manner in which it had been managed. We were given a glimpse of a much more prosperous one at another place farther on, where we were entertained, the methods here being much more scientific and up to date.

This question of purchasing an estate came up again when we reached Heathman. There we inspected, with approval, a large estate of 7,500 acres, and when we returned to England we got so far as to take the preliminary steps to form a company with the object of possessing ourselves

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of the plantation and so acquiring all the practical knowledge of which we were in need. On examining the laws of the Southern States, however, we found that there was no certainty about the security of tenure in land where aliens were concerned, and this mainly led to the abandonment of the proposal to buy the plantation offered to us.

We continued our tour from Heathman to New Orleans, perhaps the best known cotton market in the world, and then went forward to Galveston and Houston. At New Orleans we had an opportunity of discussing various problems affecting the industry with practical men on the spot, and at Galveston and Houston we were made acquainted with all the details in connexion with loading and shipment of the cotton. From Galveston we struck north on a much better permanent way than the one we had left, our first places of call being Texarkana and Little Rock, where we had again most gratifying receptions. At Memphis, where we spent a full day, we again discussed cotton problems with our hospitable hosts, and were shown the huge concrete warehouses for housing and dealing with the cotton crop, which were the outcome of the efforts and recommendations of the members of the Lancashire Private Cotton Investigation Commission on their visits to America in the previous

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year. Another very important outcome of the visits of the Lancashire Commission was the establishment of experimental farms designed to show the American grower how greatly the yield of cotton could be increased by careful seed selection and improved methods of cultivation.

From Memphis to St. Louis, where we were again royally entertained, we came into personal contact with men who handled the cotton crop. Then on to Chicago, where cotton was put aside for the moment and we turned our attention to the big meat-packing industry. Previous to our visit to Chicago there had been a good deal of criticism levelled at the meat packers, and the heads of some of the big firms were keen on demonstrating to us how humanely the animals were dealt with and how all their arrangements were carried out in a way calculated to secure the very best and most wholesome results. But even under the best conditions we found that meat packing was not a spectacle to linger over, although we were obliged to admit that whatever grounds there might have been for strictures on packing methods in the past, there was nothing to be taken exception to at the time we visited the city.

Those who had not been to Chicago before were struck, as are all first comers, with the spaciousness of the city, the size of the buildings, the extent

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and magnificence of the parks, and, above all, by the grand situation it occupies at the head of Lake Michigan. It is difficult to imagine that this great expanse of water is simply an inland lake. Chicago from its appearance might be built with a frontage to the Atlantic Ocean.

From Chicago we proceeded to Toronto, and one could not but feel a sense of relief in getting to this fine Canadian city. It had a homely, English appearance, and offered a refreshing change from the bustling towns we had visited on our tour through the United States. The hospitality we received, too, was quite as warm and profuse as we had experienced anywhere. We, of course, visited the famous falls of Niagara, and were immensely impressed by what we saw. What struck us more than anything, perhaps, were the great marble palaces they have built on the banks of the Niagara river. While looking like beautiful country mansions, they are in reality electric power stations, which have been designed in order that they may take away nothing from the natural beauty of the surroundings. At the time we visited these great power stations a comparatively small portion of the water forces of the falls had been harnessed, but even so they were then not only providing for all electrical wants of the immediate neighbourhood, but transmitting power to

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drive trams and supply municipal undertakings in cities like Buffalo, twenty or thirty miles away.

Our run from Toronto down the Hudson River ought also to be mentioned, for it struck me as one of the most beautiful places I had ever seen. The scenery along the banks forms a magnificent setting for the many fine residences that have been erected there, Nature and Art having joined in producing the most entrancing results.

We left New York on our tour on October 3, and arrived back in the city on the 21st of that month, after a memorable and enjoyable if exhausting experience, and at once went aboard the Cunard liner *Caronia*, homeward bound. Again we found that the company had foreseen everything that would minister to the comfort of the members of our party, the officers of the vessel, as on our voyage out on the *Campania*, having received instructions to give special attention to our wants. The fact that there was a comparatively small passenger list also assured our obtaining the finest accommodation possible. But, when everything had been done, we were destined to have a voyage which those on board will never forget. On the way we encountered a cyclone in mid-Atlantic, and had a buffeting such as is seldom experienced on these voyages. A great and wonderful sea caught us in its grip and tossed our big vessel about as

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though she had been a coracle on a flushed river. Mountainous waves reared up from the side one moment, and the next we were looking down on the horizon as though suddenly the world itself had been tilted on end. Every traveller who has been at sea in really bad weather will have some idea of the awful grandeur of the scene as every moment the waves appeared to threaten to engulf our craft.

There were many of our delegation to whom the experience was most terrifying, their nerves being at high tension, especially when it began to be whispered that the cargo had shifted and the vessel had a list. A concert had been fixed for that evening in aid of a sea charity, and it was deemed wise, despite the conditions which prevailed, to hold it. I presided. The circumstances were not ideal for oratory, but, holding on as best I could to the table, I took the opportunity to quiet the fears of the nervous by reminding them that the Cunard Company had never in all its experience had a great misfortune at sea. My tribute to the management of this well-known line was sincere, for both on that and on other occasions I had been impressed with its thoroughness and efficiency.

I confessed to a certain amount of wonder about our ocean experiences when I saw the

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Caronia back in dock in Liverpool. Her towering sides, rising up like some massive barracks from the landing-stage, seemed to make quite unreal the tossing about we had had during the cyclone in mid-Atlantic; and, looking higher still to the crow's nest, it seemed beyond belief that the man up there had been drenched with spray.

Several members of our party whose homes were on the Continent sailed from New York on a North German Lloyd vessel shortly after we left, and for a time we saw in the distance, at night, the lights of their steamer. It was in the early days of wireless telegraphy, and both vessels were fitted up with the new apparatus. The science was much more fascinating at that time owing to its novelty, and one of our means of amusement was to keep in touch by wireless with our friends. For part of the voyage this was possible, but when the cyclone overtook us this pleasant means of communication was stopped by order of the captain. How they were faring, therefore, was constantly on our minds, and for some time after we arrived in England there was no news of them, causing us much anxiety on their behalf. After a time we heard that the German vessel had lost her rudder in the storm, and her captain had steered with the propellers. On reaching port he was rewarded by a telegram praising his seaman-

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ship from the Kaiser, who later acknowledged it by conferring on him a decoration.

It was a matter of regret to all who formed this delegation that, although we had been received by Governors of States and other prominent persons, it had not been possible for either Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the American Republic, or the Right Hon. James Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, to receive us. This was due to no neglect or want of sympathy on their part, but owing to a clash of engagements. Letters were received by me, as president, from both these gentlemen, which we all greatly appreciated. Mr. Roosevelt, writing from the White House on October 18, 1907, said :

“MY DEAR SIR,—I feel a very deep personal interest in the important matter which has brought to our shores so large and distinguished a body of cotton manufacturers from the principal nations of Europe. So far as I understand the plans and purposes of the International Federation of Cotton Spinners, of which you are the president, you aim to promote stable conditions in your industry throughout the world ; and your visit to the United States more especially aims to bring the world's cotton manufacturers into closer touch and sympathy with our own cotton producers, upon

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whom you depend for three-quarters of your raw material.

“It seems to me an elementary truth that if our cotton planters can learn more definitely and at first hand, as your trip proposes, the exact need of the manufacturer in the matter of the preparation and shipment of raw cotton, and can aim to conform thereto, the result will be quite as much to their benefit as to yours. You will find great changes in progress here, and an almost universal interest throughout the cotton belt in the matters that interest you, and I hope and believe that you will return to your homes, not only pleased with our country, but encouraged to believe that your visit will bear immediate fruit.

“It is a source of regret to me that engagements made long since rendered it impossible to receive your delegation during your sojourn in Washington, and to say to you by word of mouth what I now take great pleasure in writing.

“Sincerely yours,

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

“MR. C. W. MACARA.”

In my letter in reply to the President, I told him that we believed our visit would stimulate the cotton planters to take fuller advantage of their splendid opportunities, that the hospitality and

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kindness of the American people had been overwhelming, and that our chief regret in leaving the United States was that we had not had the honour and pleasure of meeting one whose services to humanity had evoked so much admiration throughout the world.

Mr. Roosevelt later on presented me with a splendid signed portrait of himself, which is now hanging in my home, and is one of my most cherished possessions.

In a letter which reached me soon after I landed in America, the Right Hon. James Bryce (now Viscount Bryce), the British Ambassador, said : “ The international importance of the Cotton Federation, and the fact that the centre of organization is Manchester, gives it a claim on the representatives of my sovereign, King Edward, who has personally on more than one occasion expressed his interest in the objects of the Federation. I have instructed His Majesty’s Consuls in the cities to be visited on your journey to extend every assistance to the delegates.”

CHAPTER XII

EGYPT

IN the previous chapter reference was made to the International Delegation which visited America in 1907, but as England in particular was yearly coming to use more and more of that fine, long-stapled cotton of which the choicest fabrics are made, I was in 1912 requested to organize a similar delegation to Egypt, the country where it is principally grown. Before undertaking this I went to see Lord Kitchener, who happened to be in London on a visit, in order to consult him about this suggestion. I well remember his reception. There are few men whose photographs so inadequately picture them as they really are. To this day there are people who imagine him to have been of pallid complexion with a somewhat hungry look. But the big, bronzed, healthy man who greeted me cheerfully was leagues from this imaginary picture. Two things about his physique caught one's attention at once: his stature and his vigour. His was the frame of a Viking, with an electrical energy to control and move it. In the face the features which most impressed one were

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the piercing blue eyes with their straight and fearless look.

After we had exchanged greetings I said : " I have come to consult you before going any farther with a proposition for taking an international cotton delegation to Egypt. I want your approval of, or your objections, if any, to the expedition I have been asked to organize. The object is to give careful study to the growing and handling of the Egyptian cotton crop, with a view to making recommendations for improvement, if any are necessary." I then laid the scheme fully before him and asked : " Do you approve of the idea? " " Certainly I approve," he replied. " I am in Egypt to do the best I can for Egypt. I like your plan for making your delegation international. Egypt can do a service to the cotton-using nations of the world, and any benefit I can give them I want them to have." What particularly impressed me in this interview was Lord Kitchener's readiness, nay eagerness, to accept the help of practical men of affairs. He showed at once that he would welcome any assistance we could give him. I came away feeling that the success of our mission was already assured.

The delegation was consequently organized and went to Egypt. As in the case of the American one, it was fully representative of the

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various cotton-using countries and of all sections, from the grower to the distributor. Accompanying us were some of the wives and daughters of the delegates, all of whom were naturally curious as to how they would be received, seeing that Lord Kitchener had the reputation of not being very partial to feminine society. When Lord Kitchener's private secretary came down to meet us at Alexandria, I questioned him about the prospect of his Lordship receiving the ladies. He did not hold out much encouragement, and his view proved to be correct.

We had a great reception on arriving at Alexandria. There, as leader of the delegation and president of the International Cotton Federation, I delivered an address in which I not only emphasized the interdependence of one country upon another in our great industry, but gave some figures which at the same time showed the vastness of the cotton trade and its possibilities of development. I pointed out that it was estimated the cotton industry supplied nine-tenths of the clothing of the world's inhabitants, and that out of a population of 1,500,000,000 only 500,000,000 were completely clothed and 750,000,000 partially clothed, while 250,000,000 were not clothed at all. I repeat these figures here because their lesson to us to-day is an important one; it points to the

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great field open to the enterprise of all nations where there is a cotton industry. When I hear people speaking of international rivalry in commerce I cannot help feeling how deluded they are. There need be no rivalries beyond those of vying with each other to give the best value. If the men in industry would make "co-operation" their watchword nationally and internationally, they would not only have better business results, but they would help towards maintaining peace in the world. As in the case of cotton so in regard to all other products; the world can use all that the industrial nations can make.

Another thing that I said in the Alexandria speech has, I think, special value here. At our international gatherings as representative of the cotton industry of the world I said: "It is impossible to detect racial jealousies or that the delegates belong to so many different nations. With such an example I am at a loss to understand the constantly recurring jealousies and misunderstandings between nations, which I cannot help feeling are magnified by writers in the Press who do not realize the gravity of the issues with which they are dealing. Mischief is so often brought about by want of thought in dealing with industrial strife which, in a minor degree, has the same disastrous results as would be produced

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by war, that it is earnestly to be desired for the welfare of humanity that greater care will be exercised in the future." A great war has since taught us how horrible a catastrophe war is, and perhaps now we will learn the need for "taking thought lest we lack thought."

It is fervently to be hoped that success will attend the efforts which are being made by President Harding to bring about a universal reduction of armaments. It is the only hope for humanity. Science and invention, rightly directed, may be of immense value to the human race, but they may, on the other hand, prove the means of bringing about its extermination.

On proceeding to Cairo we were received by the Khedive and Lord Kitchener. Among the many social functions the Egyptian Government gave a very elaborate reception in the Zoological Gardens, where Lord Kitchener was present. He was still walking lame from the effects of his accident in India. As he could not get his car into the Gardens he had to walk about half a mile, and one could see it had been rather trying to him.

After a good deal of talk with various guests Lord Kitchener asked me: "Do you think we could find a quiet spot for a cup of tea? I want a little talk on some of the matters you have mentioned." We had a very interesting conversation.

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When I went to see him at the Residency he opened up a conversation which I shall never forget, as it revealed Lord Kitchener in a light which the world seldom saw. This conversation showed me how deep and real his sympathies were, and how greatly he had taken to heart the position and hardships of the fellaheen. His experiences of the country had not been those of the Governor sitting in half-regal pomp in his beautiful Residency, but were from first-hand contact with the people, both high and low, among whom he had come to dwell and whose interests he felt it incumbent on one in his office to promote.

The position of the poor fellaheen engaged in cotton growing then was not an enviable one. People of more subtle intelligence than theirs—Jews, Greeks, Syrians—came with long heads and ready money, and drove bargains which seemed tempting until the poor victims found themselves working almost day and night with very little to repay them for their toil.

I knew all this, and was very anxious to see a state of things so little conducive to public content, remedied. I was therefore delighted when Lord Kitchener said to me : “ I should like your help in certain schemes I have for bettering the lives of the fellaheen. I have seen much that is undesirable in their lot. You have come through the Nile

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Delta and will have seen the central markets which I have set up at points convenient for the small growers, so that they may be able to get a fair price when they come with their few bales to offer. I want them to have all the advantages of the prices ruling in Alexandria; I want to prevent their poverty being a handicap. They have been getting the same price for good and inferior qualities of cotton; how is this to be dealt with effectually? The cotton, as you know, is graded at Alexandria and sold at prices according to the qualities. I want to have it graded at the centres I have set up and direct dealings between them and Liverpool." I had to express, although it conflicted with what Lord Kitchener had been doing, my own views of the difficult situation. I told him that I thought he was beginning at the wrong end in starting with the small growers first; this matter of handling and marketing being one that required to be begun on a large scale. I had in mind a scheme which would effect great improvements in this direction.

The developments in and near Aboukir had a connexion with this scheme. At the time of the Battle of the Nile the boats of Nelson's ships sailed over what has now been converted into an estate of 30,000 acres, growing crops of all kinds, among them cotton, covering what had been a salt marsh, the salt having been subsequently, by a process of

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washing, taken out of the soil. In this and many other ways for the development of Egypt, Lord Kitchener's hand was apparent in all directions. In addition to the Aboukir estate there was another called the "Domain," and a very extensive estate, owned by Pasha Murad—a friend of Lord Kitchener's who was always willing to carry out experiments or to find money for doing so.

I recommended Lord Kitchener to get the cotton grown at these estates—over which he had a certain control—graded, ginned and packed by the growers themselves, and sent direct to Liverpool, and I saw no reason why the scheme should not be successful and afterwards extended to the small growers whom he wished to assist. I knew Lord Kitchener was greatly impressed by these proposals, and, as a matter of fact, I was in correspondence with him on the subject right up to the outbreak of war.

Lord Kitchener was a remarkable example of an administrative and constructive soldier. When I met him he was engaged in what, perhaps, was his most fruitful contribution to our imperial greatness—I mean his work in Egypt. Every middle-aged man remembers to-day what a national hero he was during the Soudan campaign. Something in the man was magnetic. The photographs of the strong, immobile features with the

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steady, all-embracing eyes—how effective these pictures were in the great recruiting campaign of 1914-15!—seemed to grip people, convincing them that behind that fascinating mask was a much more fascinating personality. A Kitchener legend grew up round these pictures, a legend which survived the attacks upon him during the war and received fresh life from his death in the cold northern waters when setting out on a great mission for his country.

But in this chapter I only mention these aspects of Lord Kitchener's character and career in order to emphasize my own belief that it was not in them that his greatest qualities were exhibited. From what I learned of his work in Egypt I am convinced that his services as a statesman and administrator may long outlive those he rendered as a soldier. The qualities in which he shone were precisely those that would have rendered him great if he had chosen another career than the Army. "He was not only a great soldier, but a splendid business man," I wrote of him a short time after his death, "as well as a man imbued with an intense desire to promote the welfare of humanity and alleviate the lot of the oppressed." That tribute stands to-day. As yet the Great War is too near to us for our judgments to get a view in proper perspective of the characters which showed

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with greatest value during the years of stress. Our children will see things in better and truer relations. I am convinced that when the time comes for our historians to deal in a measured and balanced manner with the outstanding personalities of the British nation during the war, many persons who have had an immediate notoriety will be forgotten; but that some of our leaders, and Lord Kitchener among the foremost of them, will loom all the greater for the lapse of time and the disappearance of those accidental prejudices which disfigured our view while the war was near to us. The qualities which will win lasting fame for him will be those of sound judgment, magnetic personality and organizing genius. He had these gifts in an abundance which would have made him great in any walk of life.

When in Egypt I received an invitation from General Sir Reginald Wingate, the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Soudan, to visit the cotton-growing districts of the Soudan, but as I was unable to go at that time, the international committee decided that the secretary of the Federation should proceed there.

Sir Reginald Wingate was also one among other soldiers whom I met in Egypt who impressed me as possessing excellent business qualities, a man who might well be entrusted with the

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promotion of similar schemes for developing the undeveloped resources of the world.

A joint report of the visits of the delegation to Egypt and of the secretary to the Soudan was issued and proved of great value in connexion with the loan of £3,000,000 (since raised to £6,000,000) which the Soudan Government was authorized to raise with the support of the British Government.

We had, during our tour in Egypt, a most enthusiastic welcome everywhere, and were given a unique opportunity of sight-seeing. We took in, of course, all the usual points of interest, including the famous Pyramids and Sphinx at Gizeh and the ruins of Memphis, once the capital of Egypt; but in addition we had, through the courtesy of the Egyptian Government, freedom of access to all the great works which had been designed for the transformation of the country from a sandy desert to a smiling land of plenty. We were, for instance, specially conducted over the works of the Nile Barrage, that engineering wonder by which the waters of the great river have been controlled and made subservient to the agriculturist.

As the tour progressed nothing impressed me more than the tireless way in which the scientific agriculturists of the country are doing their work. Their presence was noticeable everywhere, and

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always with good results. The Khedivial Agricultural Society has done and is doing incalculable service. I visited one of its farms in the neighbourhood of Cairo and was delighted with the whole arrangement of the place and with the splendid collection of live-stock that was bred there. We also visited the Botanical Laboratory at Giza, another suburb of Cairo. There we were shown the notable efforts the staff are making to develop and improve the seed supply for Egyptian cotton.

On every hand we met with illustrations of how up-to-date discoveries rubbed shoulders with the primitive arts of Ancient Egypt. A remarkable instance of the survival of old customs was seen during a visit we paid to the weaving factory of H. E. Mohammed Bey Abdel Neby, at Mehalla Kebir. Here we saw handlooms, which have remained substantially unaltered from the earliest times, weaving the most beautiful fabrics in silk and cotton. In the place of the jacquard arrangement of cards, boys were employed at the top of the looms to manipulate the mechanism which controlled the design, and it was astonishing how skilfully they worked and what speed was attained by looms working under this antiquated system.

CHAPTER XIII

INDIA

IT has been my fortune to take part in many campaigns either for the raising of funds for special purposes or the vindication of some great economic principle, and I am happy to be able to record that in none of the big undertakings with which I have been associated has success been wanting. I say this in no spirit of boastfulness, but simply to call attention to what constitutes success in so many of the affairs of life. Given a good cause, I never yet found the British public fail to rise to the occasion, providing of course that there was nothing wanting in the matters of organization and wise direction. Failures are made more often than not owing to lack of courage and lack of faith, and my own experience has been that those who talk the most of trusting the people are the most backward to put that maxim into practice. Timidity had prevented the Lifeboat Institution from taking its proper position in the affairs of the nation prior to the establishment of the Lifeboat Saturday Fund, and ignoble fears seemed at one time likely

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to ruin the chances of another great movement for which my help was sought not long after the affairs of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution had been put upon a more satisfactory footing.

Early in the year 1897 news arrived in this country of the outbreak of famine in India, and a great cry went up for help for many millions of our fellow-subjects ravaged by hunger and plague. Consequent upon the premature cessation of the annual rains at the end of August, 1896, the autumn crops had failed over large tracts of country. Something like 40,000,000 people were faced with absolute starvation, and many more with the most acute distress. A fund was opened at the Mansion House in London, but Lancashire, which had special interests in India, seeing that the Dependency normally takes over a third of her 80 per cent. export trade in cotton goods, preferred to organize her own relief fund. The County Palatine, it may be added, was also under obligation to India in another way, for during the cotton famine of 1862 India had come to the aid of Lancashire men and women with a sum of over £100,000.

In order to promote the fund for the famine-stricken in India, a meeting was called in Manchester by the mayor to which I had a pressing

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invitation. I got to the meeting rather late and found a number of the leading citizens discussing the situation in a most gloomy and pessimistic strain. They doubted, they said, the possibilities of success of such a fund, seeing that the county was passing through a time of great commercial depression. At the time of a previous famine twenty years before Lancashire had raised about £80,000, but they questioned whether this could be repeated, for many of those who had contributed large sums in 1877 had passed away. All the objections that could possibly be raked together were submitted, and the depression was acute. I listened to the outpourings, knowing from my own experience of Lancashire men and women that the difficulties could be overcome. It might be true that if a few leading citizens and the heads of business houses in Manchester only were relied upon, the result would be altogether unsatisfactory; but I contended that this was eminently a case where all Lancashire people were interested, and as such, all Lancashire should be called upon to contribute.

It being known to those present what I had done for the lifeboat cause, they appealed to me to bring my organizing powers to bear in the raising of funds, and finally I consented to organize a fund on the lines which had been so

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successful in connexion with the Lifeboat Saturday movement.

In all my philanthropic work I had been fortunate in having ready at hand a small staff that I could rely upon, both for prompt action and for enthusiasm, and this staff was at once brought into requisition. Instead of waiting for each centre of population to organize on its own lines, a system was supplied for the appointment of mercantile and industrial committees, not only for Manchester and Salford, but for the whole of Lancashire; and instructions having been given down to the minutest detail to heads of municipalities throughout the area, the whole scheme was launched simultaneously within two or three days. Our machinery worked splendidly, and soon one town was vying with another as to the amount raised per head of the population. All the details were thought out in Manchester; specimens of appealing literature were provided, the assistance of representatives from the employers' and work-people's organizations throughout Lancashire were secured, the eloquence of numerous pulpits in churches of all denominations was bespoken, amateur and professional entertainers were called upon, and collectors and canvassers became busy in every direction.

The result was a surprise to everybody. In

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two months' time we had not only equalled but doubled the sum raised at the time of the previous famine twenty years before, and Lancashire had the extreme pleasure of handing over to India the magnificent sum of just upon £160,000. The county, indeed, had raised double per head of the population as compared with any other part of the United Kingdom. This was undoubtedly due to the methods of organization, which were unique in character and wellnigh perfect in detail. Every precaution was taken against the misuse of collecting forms, and as the public enthusiasm was roused the work was carried through with very little expense. A great part of the credit was due to the working classes, who, as I had pointed out, were generous when appealed to for a good cause, the only thing necessary to secure their contributions being proper organization.

When, three years later, another Indian famine came—an altogether unprecedented occurrence in Indian history—we were in a position of great difficulty owing to the relief funds for the sufferers in the South African War monopolizing the ground we required for our philanthropic efforts. The Manchester civic authorities made no move, although the need for help for India was no less urgent than it had been in 1897, and it was not until three weeks after our mercantile and indus-

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trial committees had got to work that a Town Hall appeal was made. The leaders of the working classes felt that the war in South Africa ought not to be allowed to interfere with an object so worthy and so humane as that of assisting India, and I was approached by the working men's organizations in Lancashire to take the same steps that I had taken in 1897 and organize a general appeal throughout the county. As I have said, the benevolence of the public had been severely taxed, and it was no small matter to work up enthusiasm for another effort after so short a space of time, but I set to work on exactly the same lines as before, and in three months we had remitted a sum of £147,000 to help the suffering millions of India. It was another object lesson in the success of appealing to the many rather than to the charitable few, who are inundated with claims and cannot be expected to bear the whole burden of the upkeep of the national institutions and the repairing of the great disasters that fall upon the world.

Those early influences of which I have spoken have, I suppose, always led me to do my utmost for India apart from raising money to help her in her dire need. One has not always seen eye to eye with those entrusted with her government, perhaps, especially in fiscal matters, but whenever possible it has given me the keenest pleasure to

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advocate anything that would be to her welfare. I have, for instance, for the mutual advantage of the grower and manufacturer of cotton, at all times taken the greatest interest in the development of the Indian cotton crop.

It has always been to me a matter of astonishment and no little regret that India did not give more heed to the advice of Lancashire in this matter of cotton, for thereby she would have largely increased her wealth and done a great deal for the happiness of her teeming population. Much, I know, was done during the ten years before the war both to improve the quality of the crop and greatly to extend the area of cultivation, thanks to the Indian Government and the educational work of the International Cotton Federation. But infinitely more might have been done in a land so favoured in the matter of climate, soil, labour and transport. While the world had been continually exercised as to its supplies of raw cotton, and especially as to the improvement in the quality of the cotton, India had been largely indifferent to the call, while in this matter of quality our big Dependency had shown a deplorable lack of enterprise.

As president of the International Cotton Federation I headed deputations to four successive Secretaries of State for India, the last one being to

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the Marquess of Crewe in July, 1918, for the purpose of urging as strongly as possible the necessity for everything being done that could be done to improve the quality and extend the cultivation of cotton in India. I pointed out to Lord Crewe that though the cotton crop of the world was then three times greater than it was thirty-five to forty years before, the extension of the cotton fields must proceed much more rapidly than had been the case if the raw material was to keep pace with the demand for cotton goods. India, I added, was capable of much more rapid development than any other part of the world, and no effort should be spared to extend and improve the cultivation of cotton.

An adequate supply of Indian cotton, as I told his Lordship, is a matter of supreme interest, not only to India herself, but to China, Japan, Germany, France, Italy and Belgium, if not primarily to Lancashire, for the greater the supply of the poorer cotton from India for those countries that can use it largely, the greater will be the quantity available of those higher grades produced elsewhere required by the English cotton industry. There is, however, no good reason why India should not grow the better qualities that Lancashire needs. It has been proved by experiment that her climate and soil will grow what we know as "American" cotton just as well as America

India

herself. It is all a question of care and skill. Some eighty years ago the most beautifully fine muslins were exported from India, made from cotton which must have been grown in India, spun and woven by hand, and of necessity from a quality of cotton much superior to that at present grown there. The cotton grown in India has been allowed to deteriorate so much that it would be quite impossible to produce such fine fabrics from the home-grown product nowadays. Yet cotton of longer staple and better quality can be produced in India easily by careful seed selection and improved cultivation, and I am convinced that the problem of cotton growing within the Empire could be solved, and solved in a very few years, if India tackled it with spirit and with the necessary expert knowledge and organization.

I have, of course, been interested in the question of cotton growing not merely in India but in every country on the globe where there was a possibility of increasing our supplies. This was one of the first objects of the International Cotton Federation, of which I was the president for so many years, and so widely was my work known in this matter that when the British Cotton Growing Association was formed over twenty years ago, I was approached to take the chairmanship. Apart from the growing claims of my business, however,

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I occupied so many positions that I was obliged to decline the honour, although in entire sympathy with the objects of the association. I became associated with the organization as one of its vice-presidents, promising to give all the assistance I could to further its development, and I at all times take the greatest interest in the work it is doing in various parts of the world.

If there be one comment I should like to make upon the work of the British Cotton Growing Association it is that I think too little attention has been paid in the past to the possibilities India offers for the expansion of our cotton supplies. There is no other place on the face of the globe, in my estimation, where so rapid progress could be made. As showing what could be done, I need only mention the fact that in the ten years preceding the war, largely through the influence of the International Cotton Federation whose secretary had repeatedly travelled over the cotton growing districts, the Indian crop was raised from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 bales, and a crop of 10,000,000 bales was well within the range of possibility. In the year before the war an offer was made by the Indian Government to the committee of the International Cotton Federation of 7,500 acres of irrigated land, rent free for twenty years, the object being to develop cotton growing from

India

American and Egyptian seed. Unfortunately the outbreak of the European War put an end to the negotiations which might have led to a great development, and it is hoped this offer may be again made when conditions have become normal.

Unfortunately those who guide and govern Indian affairs appear to be too intent upon harassing trade competitors rather than on advancing and increasing the vast resources of which the country is capable. The Indian Government, supported by the Government at home, are seeking means constantly of discouraging the imports from Lancashire, and I have found myself engaged in various campaigns in opposition to the cotton duties which India has from time to time imposed.

As a convinced Free Trader I have never objected to any impost considered necessary for revenue purposes, but it is obviously unfair that Lancashire should be singled out for taxation to the distinct advantage of another part of the Empire. The Government has no right to give a preference to the Indian manufacturer. If the Indian manufacturer can beat us in the open market let him do so; but he ought not to be helped by preferential treatment; furthermore, I contend that it is against the interests of the natives of India that this should be done.

SOME CAMPAIGNS



CHAPTER XIV

BRINGING CAPITAL AND LABOUR TOGETHER

EVERY man worth the name has some sort of ideal to which he directs his energies. Mine has been the substitution in the industrial sphere of co-operation for antagonism in the relations between employers and employed. I have waged a long fight with this object in view, and sometimes now I fancy I detect a realization in the not too distant future of the hopes which have buoyed me up during the struggle. Elsewhere in these recollections I have traced the events which led my ambitions into this channel, and have showed me how the great Brooklands Agreement—the instrument which maintained peace for so long a period in the cotton industry—came into being. Here I will briefly recount the history of several other schemes for industrial peace, one being designed for the whole of the industry of the country. All are still capable of doing great good.

I am quite convinced that arbitration is occasionally a good thing to have, but it is also a good thing to do without. All the arbitration in

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the world is not so good as an agreed plan of settling differences between the parties concerned. The passion for arbitration is, with some people, like the passion for litigation ; I prefer a minimum of both, although admitting that the impartial referee has his place in the scheme of things and must sometimes be evoked. This was the feeling that led me to devise the scheme for the regulation of wages which has been in existence in the spinning section of the cotton industry for many years, and could be adapted to the other sections ; and the principles of the scheme could be applied to any other industry. I soon saw after the Brooklands Agreement came into operation that it had one considerable weakness. While it made it difficult for either party to bring the industry to a stoppage by the numerous checks it imposed on impulsive action, it did not provide a scheme for ascertaining the profits of the industry, and the question of wages frequently led to disputes. I knew the aversion of the cotton industry as a whole to arbitration. I had had experience of it. On one historic occasion, when during a dispute the whole trade was brought into line, arbitration was offered by the operatives, but the proposal was wrecked on a question of minor details as regarded the terms of reference, which was a great disappointment to me personally.

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In these circumstances I began to seek a way of bringing into existence a plan which would give, as it were, an automatic decision when wages disputes arose, and devised a scheme by which employers and operatives have equal rights in ascertaining the profits made either over twelve months or a period of years, and which has been described by the accountants of both employers and operatives as the fairest they know. I claim for this scheme that it is arbitration without an arbitrator.

When I launched my scheme in 1920 to give operatives a monetary interest in the cotton industry, I showed that the scheme for the regulation of wages could be applied to determine accurately the precise amount of increase to be given them. They were then asking for an increase of wages as conditions of trade were prosperous. Workers in the cotton industry had already been compensated for the war increase in the cost of living by previous advances. My idea was to determine by the scheme I have mentioned just how much they should receive, and to give them that increase, not as an addition to weekly wages to be frittered away on current expenses, but as a solid interest in their industry, carrying with it a proportionate say in control. I went farther, and in a series of articles in the Press

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suggested that this plan should be followed in all industry, pointing out that by the scheme for the regulation of wages the yield of capital in industry could be definitely ascertained. Widespread support was won for this proposal. Several great firms carried it out, but the cotton industry as a whole did not adopt it. How much better off would the operatives to-day have been had they seized upon the opportunity to gain a position and power they have never yet enjoyed!

I used a phrase during the discussion of this profit-sharing idea which seems to me to put the matter in a nutshell. For the workers to obtain an interest in their own industry, and widen it as the success of the industry grew, was, I said, the best form of nationalization. I would ask our labour leaders and our working men to consider this point. Nationalization, as usually understood, simply means handing over a source of wealth to the control of a group of bureaucrats. That is folly. But for the workers themselves—that is, all the workers—to obtain a monetary interest in their industry is a sort of nationalization which would continue the control in the hands of practical and experienced men representing both Capital and Labour. That is wisdom; and I believe the idea is practicable, would eliminate ca' canny wherever it exists, and would encour-

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age the workers to make their industry a success. I look to the future to see co-operation brought into existence, and so ensure the maintenance of the great industrial position we have held in the past.

I come now to another movement in which I took a leading part, and which led to the Industrial Council being appointed by the Government in 1911. We have gone through much turmoil since the year 1911, and the strikes which then occurred may seem only faint shadows of what we have since experienced. But that year was an industrial landmark. It was the year which saw the ascendancy of the general strike, and up to that time none of us in this country had realized what a terror it was. Transport ceased ; indeed, many industries ceased ; it seemed almost as if civilization itself halted. From Liverpool came reports of uncleansed streets spreading infection ; from London reports of people in dread of darkness and starvation. Docks, ships, railways, mines, mills, all came to be to a certain extent affected by paralysis ; in some other industries there was an involuntary dislocation of work and movement. No year had previously brought such intense industrial trials to us as those of 1911.

All through this struggle I laboured to bring

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peace, and at the same time gave careful study to the big question of how to avoid a repetition of such disputes. I had conceived earlier the idea of a council which should be in conception and operation an Industrial Court of Appeal. The Board of Trade at that time negotiated in industrial disputes when circumstances permitted, but its interventions were often futile. Something bigger, bolder and more practical was necessary. I undertake to say that the Industrial Council of 1911 satisfied all the requirements, and the industrial anarchy of that year gave me the opportunity for agitating for its formation at a time when men's minds were tuned to receive the suggestion.

I therefore sent a letter on July 10, 1911, to Mr. Charles Behrens (now Sir Charles), then Lord Mayor of Manchester, in which I outlined my scheme. It was to set up an Industrial Council on which representatives of all the staple industries of the country should sit; to make this body equally representative of Capital and Labour; to have no man upon it (except the chairman, who was to be impartial) excepting those who held or had held prominent positions in the organizations of Capital and Labour controlling the staple industries of the country, and to make that Council the court of appeal in all disputes affect-

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ing the great industries when negotiations had reached a deadlock, the disputes in minor industries to be dealt with by the permanent official staff of the Council, the assistance of individual members to be brought in when necessary. From the first I was opposed to any attempt to make verdicts compulsory. There were two reasons for that point of view: one was that, in my opinion, it is an impracticable proposal that the element of compulsion should be introduced, it being impossible to compel large bodies of men to do anything; and, secondly, I regarded public opinion as the most effective compulsion of all such matters.

Once the idea was outlined there was wide popular support. The newspapers, for the most part, backed the scheme. From all quarters I received messages of support. But that was only half the battle. Official inertia had to be overcome, and the great drawback to my scheme, from the politician's point of view, was that it entirely eliminated the intervention of Governments or Ministers in industrial disputes. So there was a struggle to get it appointed, in which I had to employ all the determination and persistence of which I was capable. Fortunately, I had splendid help from all sides, and the proposal was carried to completion. The Council was

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formed, consisting of twenty-seven members, thirteen representing Capital, and thirteen representing Labour, with Sir George Askwith (now Lord Askwith) as the impartial chairman. I had a certain amount of satisfaction when the Board of Trade announced the appointment of the Council on October 10, 1911, all my own reasons for its appointment, as stated in my letter to the Lord Mayor of Manchester and in the Press, now parading themselves in the costume of official language.

The start given to the new body was most auspicious. A banquet was given at the House of Commons to the newly appointed Council, Mr. Sydney Buxton (now Earl Buxton), then President of the Board of Trade, presiding, and the Prime Minister being present. The banquet was organized with great tact, an example of which was seen in the fact that I, as representing Capital, was placed on the one side of the President, and the Right Hon. Thomas Burt, representing Labour, on the other. As soon as dinner was over, Mr. Asquith changed places with Mr. Sydney Buxton and entered into an animated conversation with me relating to the new departure. Mr. Asquith, who was leaving for Scotland by the night train, devoted the limited time at his disposal to consulting me upon the various aspects of the

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Council's work, in which he appeared to have the deepest interest. I was, during this conversation, impressed with Mr. Asquith's grasp of the industrial position generally, and his undoubted interest at the time rendered his subsequent action towards the Council all the more incomprehensible.

Everyone, therefore, was in high hopes that we had at last an organization that would accomplish big things and do wonders for British industry, and it was the keenest disappointment to all concerned to find in a very short time afterwards that this great expectation was brought to naught. While the Industrial Council met a number of times for discussion, it never had a chance to settle a single dispute, and one can only come to the conclusion that there was a certain amount of jealousy on the part of the politicians, and that they were afraid of the practical men holding controlling positions in industry becoming too powerful or too popular in carrying out the work for which they were so eminently fitted.

At all events, during the coal dispute of 1912, a Cabinet Committee made a settlement over our heads, and we were never called together again. How that settlement was effected is interesting as showing in a vivid light the tactics that were adopted by the politicians towards the Industrial Council, the formation of which had been forced

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upon the Asquith Government by the strength of public opinion.

While a Cabinet Committee of six members were sitting at Downing Street considering means for settling the coal strike, we, in another building, were discussing the matter separately with the object of coming to a conclusion that would be helpful to the Government. When we had reached a certain stage in the discussion, six members of the Council, including myself, were deputed to go across to Downing Street and ascertain how matters stood there. When we got there we were told that the Cabinet Committee had got to the end of their resources, and that negotiations had practically been broken off with the parties to the dispute. The members of our deputation undertook to get the negotiations set going again, and succeeded in doing so; but as soon as the Cabinet Committee found things smoothed out again they snatched the opportunity of settling the dispute without calling together the members of the Industrial Council, as they had arranged to do. The result of thrusting the Council aside and acting without its practical advice was that a thoroughly bad settlement was effected, a settlement that sowed the seeds of the trouble which has periodically recurred down to the present day, and which, as we all know,

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has been most disastrous to the interests of the country. Had they co-operated with the Industrial Council, as arranged, a very different state of things might have been brought about.

I had a very notable correspondence with Mr. Asquith afterwards on the matter, but got no satisfaction ; indeed, his letters showed that he was totally unable to justify his position and that of the Government over this matter.

The Council was the first body on which representatives of Capital and Labour sat round the same table with equal rights. It got to work on big problems very rapidly. At the request of the Government it held a long inquiry into the growing industrial lawlessness of the times. It reached some very important decisions. I need only remind the reader of one of its recommendations, namely, that when three-fourths of the people, masters and men, engaged in the industry were agreed upon any line of procedure, the remaining fourth should be brought into line by legal enactment, which is in entire accordance with the law of the majority. The inquiry to which I have referred occupied thirty-eight long sittings, and the witnesses numbered ninety-two. The minutes of evidence taken filled a Blue-Book of six hundred and sixty-five pages. That Blue-Book has been

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pigeon-holed, but will repay reading and carefully studying to-day.

The treatment the Industrial Council received at the hands of the Government has been one of the greatest disappointments I have ever experienced. Framed with much care, it was unquestionably an ideally impartial tribunal. However, for some reason or other, it met with official displeasure. It was therefore allowed to languish into disuse. It had no failures. It was on the way to really great successes. Given reasonable opportunities, it would have become an industrial advisory as well as arbitral body, and would have evolved new ideas for the control of our great industries and for the maintenance of peace between Capital and Labour. On the work which it did was the stamp of profound understanding and practical sagacity.

The outbreak of war gave the clearest possible call for the reconstitution of the Industrial Council. Had we had such a body in continual session during hostilities, we should not only have been able to mobilize our industries for war, but we should not have had the constant recurrence of Labour troubles we have had since the Armistice. Dangers would have been foreseen and prepared for, and matters would not have been allowed to run riot as they did in the inexperienced hands of

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our legislators. Can anyone imagine, for instance, a body of experienced business men agreeing to the imposition of such an ill-considered means of raising money as the Excess Profits Duty? That monstrous tax, besides sending up the cost of living beyond all reason, has, as we all know, encouraged the wildest extravagance and, in many cases, fraud, while the lavish spending of money by our Government profiteers has led Labour, in turn, to be absolutely reckless in its demands. The result has been disastrous to trade in every way, for when hostilities ceased, and we should have experienced a natural expansion in trade, the price of everything to the consumer became exorbitant, and we have had the extraordinary spectacle of idle industries with, at the same time, all the world wanting goods. For this the Government alone is to blame, and I am confident these things would never have occurred if practical men had had the handling of affairs during the war.

Yet the Government allowed the Council to slide into disuse. Why?

It cannot be said that there was no need for it. Events have proved the contrary. Its use in the organization of industry during the war, and its advice on all the great matters which then arose in which our industries were concerned,

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would have saved innumerable lives and probably thousands of millions of treasure. That its underlying principles were sound is proved by the fact that America, Belgium, France and Italy have been impressed by them. Even our own Government sought to copy them, but failed signally.

I have never ceased to agitate for its resuscitation, because of my firm conviction that no other tribunal could serve us so well in our industrial future. Many campaigns have I waged in order to bring about its revival, and I do not yet despair. So often in my long life have I seen a scheme die, but its central idea live on, that I still cherish the belief that the idea enshrined in the Industrial Council of 1911 will again come to the fore, and that the Council will start again on the great work which it has not been allowed to carry on. I wish I could inspire some younger men among my countrymen to make its revival their concern. They would do a work for which posterity would bless them. The public still has the final word, and I hope they will insist on the Industrial Council being revived and made a permanent feature of our industrial position upon which our whole future depends.

CHAPTER XV

WORK IN THE LIFEBOAT CAUSE

IT has become the fashion nowadays to make light of both heredity and environment, but, as I have said before, looking back upon a long and varied life one cannot but be impressed with the conviction that both these influences are very real, and, whatever we may say, have much to do with the formation of our character and the shaping of our destinies.

I have mentioned how, from my earliest years, there was for me magic in the very name of India, and how those dead and gone ancestors of mine laid a spell upon me which has never been broken. In the same way one cannot get away from the fact that a lad born in the sea-girt kingdom of Fife will never, so long as he lives, get the salt water out of his veins. The working of the two influences, the one irresistible and the other subconscious, cannot be denied in my own case, for both have stamped themselves surely and indelibly upon the main purpose of my life.

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Little did I think, when engrossed in industrial affairs in my early manhood in Manchester, that one achievement I should yet cherish with the utmost pleasure and pride would be an outcome of that passionate devotion to the sea and to sea-faring matters which had been inculcated and nourished between Forth and Tay in boyhood's days. Even when, in 1884, I took a seaside residence on the Lancashire coast, I had no other end in view but withdrawal to a place of rest and quiet after strenuous days in the city, yet those early predilections of which I have been speaking surged up again so soon as I found a home by the sea, and it was not long before I had thrown myself wholeheartedly into an enterprise purely maritime and one lying altogether outside the sphere of my workaday life.

I have alluded to the many difficulties I encountered and the enormous work involved in the reorganization of the business of the well-known firm which I entered as managing partner in 1880. The strain of this work and the anxieties attendant upon the fight with the workpeople we had at one of our mills had their effect upon even that herculean physique which I had inherited, and I decided at length to take a seaside residence, where I could go to re-create body and mind. I chose St. Annes-on-the-Sea, then a little-known

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watering place, and found great benefit from its healthful situation and its fine and bracing air. My idea had been to go there periodically, but I soon found my attachment to the little seaside resort becoming stronger and stronger, until ultimately I spent a larger portion of my time there than at my house in the suburbs of Manchester. Nor did it prove to be the place of absolute rest I had anticipated, for a business man in my position with a telephone at his disposal—and I remember that I was the first subscriber the telephone company had in that town—carries home many of his burdens and has hundreds of cares of which the ordinary individual is wholly unconscious. Indeed, far from proving to be a retreat from the world and its worries, my residence at St. Annes, it transpired, was to be the scene of the most strenuous of my endeavours and to involve me in work far more arduous than anything I had hitherto undertaken—industrial, social or philanthropic.

I have, as I have said, all my life been fond of the sea and the company of sailors, and my recreations on going to St. Annes were found largely in association with the fishermen and the men who had to do battle with the sea on that most treacherous part of the Lancashire coast. One's sympathies were enlisted at once on behalf

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of the brave fellows constantly exposed to the gales on this perilous coast and daily in danger of the shifting sandbanks of the Ribble estuary. I went out sailing with them in their fishing boats, and learned the details of their craft, and I also took part in the lifeboat practices and experiments in connexion with the lifeboat service. One could not but be interested, especially in the lifeboatmen, for the remains of wrecked vessels visible from the windows of my house brought home to me in full a sense of the importance of this great rescue work.

Soon I found myself immersed in local lifeboat activities and intimately acquainted with the crews who carried on this voluntary work of life-saving. Then two incidents occurred, both in one week, which roused my sympathies to the utmost and stirred me into action. One stormy evening in December, 1886, I had watched the rescue of five shipwrecked and exhausted sailors who were clinging to the mast of a submerged vessel away on the Salter's Bank, and been present at a dramatic sequel. It happened that on the very evening of the rescue an amateur concert was being held in aid of the funds of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, and while the entertainment was proceeding the lifeboat crew entered the hall, bringing with them the five men

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they had rescued. I shall not soon forget that night, nor the simple, moving story of wreck and rescue told by the Scottish master of that coasting vessel.

I was greatly moved, and after the concert I invited the coxswain and sub-coxswain of the lifeboat to my house and induced them to describe their thrilling experience in their own words to the Manchester Press by telephone.

Five days later a disaster overwhelmed our little seafaring community which made the greatest impression of all. I remember that on the night the two lifeboatmen came to my house they remarked that there had not been a wreck for a considerable time, but seldom did one occur without others following. The almost prophetic nature of this remark was verified with awful consequences only a few nights later, when the ship *Mexico*, of Hamburg, bound for Liverpool, was driven helplessly before a storm of exceptional fury, and eventually struck upon a sand-bank between Southport and Formby. Three lifeboat crews, those of Southport, Lytham and St. Annes, put out to the rescue, among the volunteers to man the St. Annes boat being the Scottish captain who had so recently been rescued. As there was a full complement of thirteen without him, however, he was not allowed to go. An

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all-night vigil on the shore was followed by a hopeless dawn, for of the three boats which had gone out, that of Lytham only returned safely, bringing with her the wrecked crew of the German vessel. The boats of Southport and St. Annes had both been capsized. In the former, thirteen men had been lost out of a crew of fifteen, and in the latter not a man had escaped. News came by telephone to my house as the bodies were washed up on the opposite shore, and one by one the drowned men were recovered from the sea and laid in the churchyards of St. Annes and Lytham.

The scenes I witnessed were terrible indeed, but the problem I felt called upon to solve, and lose no time in solving, was how to ameliorate the lot of the widows and orphans so cruelly bereaved. At that time the Royal National Lifeboat Institution had been in existence for sixty-two years, but no such catastrophe had ever before occurred, and there were no funds at all adequate to meet such a disaster as this. A relief fund was therefore opened, both in St. Annes and Southport. I took every means, through the Press and otherwise—my telephone being of great assistance—to arouse sympathy with the bereaved, and in little over a fortnight the magnificent sum of £33,000 had been collected, a sum which provided for the

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widows and orphans, of whom the larger number were in St. Annes.

A realistic memorial of the St. Annes lifeboatmen who perished in that gallant attempt to rescue a shipwrecked crew stands on the sea front. It represents a lifeboatman standing on a rock pedestal, looking out to sea, fully equipped and ready for such rescue work, and proves a moving appeal to the many thousands who visit this part of the Lancashire coast. In addition to the fund, the ex-Kaiser's grandfather, William I, sent £250, which was distributed among the bereaved by the German Consul, along with £1,400 from Hamburg, the port from which the ill-fated *Mexico* had sailed. The great singer, Sims Reeves, was in the habit of spending his annual holiday at St. Annes, and I pressed him into service also. A pathetic letter which he wrote to the Press helped considerably.

Notwithstanding this tragic disaster, a new crew at once volunteered to take the places of their comrades. One cannot but marvel at the heroic courage of these brave men, never hesitating calmly to face the dangers of an angry sea, dangers which they fully realize, knowing they may never return. Indeed, they seem almost to be fatalistic in their way of looking at things. I remember one veteran who had been washed

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overboard when out fishing and rescued by his son, who, when I saw him afterwards and remarked on the narrow escape he had had, quietly responded, "Oh, yes, but my time had not come."

Many are the daring lifeboat rescues which have been watched from the windows of my house, and many lives have been saved; but perhaps one of the most thrilling adventures occurred on a very stormy December day in 1894. Early in the afternoon the coxswain came to say there were signals of distress far out to sea, and the lifeboat had to be launched, but how to do it was a great difficulty, as it was low tide. The telegraph and telephone wires were blown down, preventing any communication with neighbouring lifeboat stations, the roads and the railway blocked by sand-drifts, and no horses could be got. But go he must. The rocket summoning the crew, who were on the sea front watching, was fired, and in an amazingly short time numerous willing helpers came to drag the boat a mile and a half along the shore to where there was a channel deep enough to launch her. Many a strong man and boy was blown over again and again in this effort, and when at last the channel was reached, they were lifted off their feet by the surf, and, waves dashing over the boat, the lifeboatmen were

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drenched to the skin before they started on their difficult and perilous task. I did not know at the time, but learned afterwards, that an instrument at Fleetwood for measuring the velocity of the wind broke when it gained the speed of 120 miles an hour.

Darkness came on, and the watchers on the shore waited in great anxiety for four long dreary hours before signals were seen that the lifeboat was approaching. The men came in weary, and very disappointed that their efforts had been in vain; the vessel had disappeared. They had had a dreadful fight, the boat one minute on the crest of a wave in a roaring wind—the next in the great hollow left by the wave in a great stillness; one minute the masts flat on the sea on one side, the next on the other; one man washed out of the boat by a great wave, and back into it by the next. They all declared they would never go out in that boat again, and if it had not been for “Nums” (the nickname for their gallant coxswain, in whom they had absolute faith), they would never have come back. I should mention here they had to use the small, reserve, boat, the large one being under repair at the time.

But, to continue, a hot supper was awaiting them, and as they were just finishing it, at

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11 P.M., again the rocket was fired for the crew to assemble. Another vessel, in a different direction was sending up distress signals. Every man of the crew was once more in the boat and out to sea again in a very short time; not one hesitated. This was another four hours' fight. This time, just as they arrived at the vessel, the rising tide enabled her to get off the bank, and their services were not required. Arriving back at 3 A.M., another hot meal was ready for them at my house, the hotels and restaurants being, of course, closed. The men crawled into the room, the salt water dripping from them, thoroughly exhausted and absolutely silent; but after having had a rest and some food they gradually recovered, and returned to their homes, a mile inland, at about 5 A.M. to secure a well-earned rest.

Again it was not to be. At 8 A.M. the coxswain came to my house to tell of a third vessel in distress, and he was much perplexed as to what to do. The storm still continued, though abating in force, and his men, though ready to go, were so exhausted that he wondered if he should order them out again, and he wanted advice. While he was speaking word came that a tug from Fleetwood was approaching the distressed vessel, and was able to tow her to harbour. She proved

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to be the Morecambe Bay lightship, which had parted her moorings and was drifting helplessly before the wind.

Such is the grit of those gallant men who carry on so quietly the work of the Lifeboat Institution around our coast, and who in such numbers at the time of our country's need came forward with the same, nay, perhaps greater, courage and sense of duty to undertake the most hazardous task of mine-sweeping.

It was as chairman of the St. Annes Lifeboat Disaster Committee, a position I still occupy, that I conceived the idea of the national effort which became universally known as the "Lifeboat Saturday" fund. Though it was a satisfactory thing to me to have helped to raise money for the sufferers in the calamity which had overtaken the St. Annes and Southport crews, as a business man I could not help feeling that it was not desirable to rely upon such spasmodic efforts, and that to offer a widow and family a grant of £100, as had hitherto been the custom of the Institution when the breadwinner had given his life voluntarily to save others, was utterly inadequate. At least every lifeboatman ought to have the satisfaction of knowing that, if he never returned, those dependent upon him should not suffer pecuniary loss through his self-sacrifice, and the

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funds of the Institution, I felt, ought to be sufficiently large to deal adequately with circumstances of this kind.

When I went into the whole matter in 1891 I found that the general financial position of this life-saving service was anything but satisfactory. The report for 1890 showed that the total income for that year from subscriptions, donations, contributions from branches, and interest on investments was only a little over £42,000, whereas the expenditure amounted to nearly £76,000, necessitating a large withdrawal from capital. I made a rough estimate that not more than 25,000 people out of the many millions who constituted this great maritime nation contributed to the support of the Institution, and the average of the branches, including all the large cities and towns in the country, did not amount to more than £35 a year. I therefore decided to make use of the experience I had gained in raising the Life-boat Disaster Fund with the view to a special appeal of my own, seeing that those of the Institution had failed to bring about the desired results.

On July 23, 1891, I addressed an appeal to the Press, in which I pointed out that one of the noblest of the philanthropic institutions in the country was in dire financial straits, that by its

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instrumentality over 35,000 lives had been saved at sea, and that the magnificent result which attended my efforts at the time of the lifeboat disaster on the Lancashire coast had emboldened me to appeal on national grounds, as, if generous help were not forthcoming, the operations of the Institution would have to be very seriously curtailed.

As before, I made my principal appeal through the Press. I was splendidly backed, some of the leading daily papers in the North opening their columns in aid of the funds and their editors paying eloquent tributes to both the lifeboatmen and the Institution which made them its special care. But, in addition to enlisting the services of the Press, I left no stone unturned to arouse the sympathies of all classes of the community towards this great voluntary life-saving service. I calculated that without an income of £100,000 a year it would be quite impossible to do all that was required and make very necessary reforms; and yet the sum I asked for was under three farthings a head of the population of Great Britain and Ireland, and was a very small item indeed for a nation that owned such a vast proportion of the world's shipping to spend upon this voluntary organization for the saving of life at sea.

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If the necessary funds were to be raised, I felt that a direct appeal would have to be made, not to the generous few only, but to the country at large, and, in order to arouse popular interest, I decided to make an experiment in Manchester and Salford. It was eminently successful. Inland centres knew little or nothing about the lifeboat service, and it was decided to bring the boats and the men from Southport and St. Annes—where there were reserve boats and crews—to the city, and there organize a great demonstration, including other life-saving services as well, such as fire brigades, rocket brigades, ambulance corps, and so forth. The street procession and demonstrations were a revelation, while the launching of lifeboats on an artificial lake at Belle Vue Gardens and the exhibitions of life-saving by means of the rocket apparatus brought before the public vividly, and as nothing else could, the work that was being done along our treacherous coasts by our heroic lifeboatmen.

At a bound Lifeboat Saturday rose to popularity, and the movement spread and grew until these demonstrations became a popular feature in the life of many cities and towns in the country. Manchester and Salford, which had formerly contributed only about £200 per annum to the funds, soon averaged over £4,000 per annum, and

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Lancashire and Yorkshire raised their contributions from £3,000 to £21,000 in the first year. In initiating and prosecuting this work in its early years I had the great advantage not only of being a voluntary worker, but in having practical experience of lifeboat work and its dangers. At the same time, as a business man, I had considerable experience of organization.

The year 1894 found the movement in full swing. Liverpool led off with a monster cyclists' parade and a lifeboat regatta, and Glasgow, Dewsbury and Batley came next, holding their demonstrations on the same day and creating the utmost enthusiasm for the cause. The Edinburgh demonstration, which followed soon afterwards, was especially memorable. The great Lifeboat Saturday gathering in the Scottish capital on the slopes overlooking St. Margaret's Loch was paralleled only by that of the famous review day of 1881. The procession had a number of features peculiarly its own. The band of the 12th Lancers, mounted, led the way, and among the numerous other bands in attendance was that of the Black Watch. Her Majesty's Ship *Galatea*, too, sent a detachment, and fire brigades, trades unionists, friendly society members, co-operators and ambulance corps were there in thousands. Great interest was taken also

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in the turnout by the Newhaven fish-wives, some of whom gave illustrations of baiting lines and mending nets, while the youngest and bonniest went round with creels to collect the gifts of the spectators.

Sheffield had a procession three miles long, with Grace Darling and her father personated sitting in a boat; and Birmingham made one of the most remarkable displays in the country. The imposing street demonstration took half an hour to pass a given point, and the crowds in the streets were compared in size with those on the occasions of Queen Victoria's visit or the Bright celebration and the welcome given to Kossuth, the hero of Hungarian freedom. In addition to witnessing the most notable pageant that had ever graced the streets of the city, Birmingham on Lifeboat Saturday gave itself up to rejoicings everywhere, and, beyond the usual life-saving displays, celebrated the occasion with military manœuvres, balloon ascents and an aquatic gala, which alone was attended by 40,000 people. Everywhere, indeed, there was an abounding enthusiasm for the demonstrations, which went on right through the summer and autumn of the year.

In the *Lifeboat Journal* of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, on August 1, 1894, the

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following reference was made to the work: "We cannot but specially mention Mr. and Mrs. Macara, both of whom have thrown themselves heart and soul into the work, and have done wonders in developing the Lifeboat Saturday and Ladies' Committee movements, of which they were respectively the originators."

That the great campaign was amply justified and eminently successful is shown by the figures for 1919, the last annual report available. The income of the Institution when I made my appeal to the public in 1891 was £42,000, from subscriptions, donations, contributions from branches, and interest on investments. The income from the same sources in 1919 was £137,000. Although this sum is £37,000 more than I estimated as adequate to put the organization on a sound footing when I commenced the popular campaign in 1891, it has to be remembered that the expense of carrying on such a work as this has largely increased in the past thirty years, and, considering the difference in values, the margin to-day is still quite inadequate to keep the service abreast of the times in all directions. At present a very urgent appeal is being made for the supply of motor lifeboats; wherever they can be used, they have great advantages over the present lifeboats,

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but they are very expensive. Had it not been for the large addition to the funds for which I asked, there is no doubt that the efficiency of the service would have been gravely imperilled and the activities of the Institution would have been curtailed in many directions. It is gratifying to note that in the period of which I speak—1891-1919—the number of lives saved which the Institution has to its credit has risen from 35,000 to 58,000.

It must not be imagined that the results of the lifeboat campaign I led were obtained without a stupendous amount of work. Looking back upon it, one wonders how it was done, especially as all the organization for the initial demonstrations was done from my own house at St. Annes, while my own business claims and other work of a public nature had at the same time to be attended to. It was another case of the busy man being able to find time for everything; but here I must say, and say with all gratitude and admiration, that I never could have accomplished half I did had it not been for the constant help and untiring devotion of my wife. Great as was my enthusiasm for the lifeboat work, it did not exceed hers; she unsparingly devoted her time and her very special gifts to the interests and material welfare of our lifeboatmen. Not only did she

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throw herself heart and soul into the work of succouring those whom the St. Annes disaster had bereft, but when all that could possibly be done had been done for the widows and orphans, she turned with me to the greater work of bringing home to the mass of the people the work of this great life-saving organization and of placing it on a stable financial basis.

It is to my wife that credit is due chiefly for the popularizing of the lifeboat movement among women. Women, as is well known, always admire heroism, and England's mothers and daughters, once their sympathies were awakened, became enthusiastic in the cause. My wife was the means of establishing the first Ladies' Auxiliary Committee in Manchester and Salford, and gave assistance to the numerous other ladies' committees which followed, and, later, she joined in an appeal to the women of England. Her letter, supporting that of Mr. E. G. McConnel, of Manchester, will show better than I can how much she had the interest of the lifeboat cause at heart. The main part of the letter ran :

“ The earnest appeal to the women of England to help in the lifeboat cause which has been made by Mr. E. G. McConnel, of Manchester, will, I

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feel sure, meet with even a more hearty response than his last year's one, entitled, 'Women and Children First.' The graphic way in which he described his own experience of seeing a lifeboat put out to sea in a whole gale against wind and tide must have touched many a woman's heart. I, too, have seen a lifeboat launched in a fearful storm, and have waited and watched, with the wives and mothers of the crew, all through the long hours of a wild December night for the return of the brave men who went out to save, but, alas! returned no more.

"Such are the sacrifices which the humble homes of our fisher-folk are called upon from time to time to make. Surely the wives and daughters of England will not be behind in doing their share towards the maintenance of this noble volunteer force!"

The "Lifeboat Saturday" was intended to rouse enthusiasm in the inland centres of population, but it was felt that in the coast places where the lifeboat work was known, a more systematic method of obtaining annual subscriptions was required. In order to do this a Ladies' Auxiliary Committee was appointed in St. Annes thirty years ago, and has carried on this work ever since,

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the aim being not only to raise sufficient money for carrying on the work locally, but to remit a sufficient sum to the parent institution for the supply of stores and the upkeep of the boats stationed at St. Annes. This plan has been most successful, and if adopted in all coast places would largely increase the funds of the Institution.

Thus while my wife was working out the details for the organization of the ladies' committees which have been the means of raising so much money for the lifeboat cause, I, at the request of the committee of management of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, supplemented my work for the universal recognition of Lifeboat Saturday by formulating a comprehensive scheme for further procedure and development. By this scheme the whole of Great Britain and Ireland was divided into six districts, and every class and section was made to feel an interest in the great work.

The first of the district committees to be organized was that of the North of England. It was a powerful and representative body, of which the Earl of Derby was appointed first president and I chairman of the executive committee. This committee of enthusiasts prosecuted its work with vigour, and actually carried on the whole work

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of the Lifeboat Saturday organization until the headquarters were removed from Manchester to London, in 1896, before the complete scheme had been established. This premature action rendered it impossible for me to continue in my position, which had become an exceedingly arduous one, and I consequently decided to retire from it.

Although the originator of the Lifeboat Saturday movement, I attribute much of its success to having always striven to acknowledge the services of those who joined so heartily in this national cause. I took great care that everyone should be acknowledged, so far as possible, personally, in the local literature of the movement. Thus the immense numbers of people who gave so freely of their time and labour all felt that their services were appreciated. Without the co-operation of these enthusiastic workers it would have been impossible to attain so notable a success as the Lifeboat Saturday fund became.

Although I have long since relinquished my share in the national administration of the Lifeboat Saturday fund, which many years ago was incorporated with the work of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, I have never lost touch with the work of the lifeboatmen on the Lancashire coast. For over thirty-five years I have superin-

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tended this work, and have telephonic communication available by night as well as by day, so that the neighbouring lifeboat stations can be communicated with and their co-operation secured when it is necessary to go to the rescue of the shipwrecked on this perilous part of the British coast.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FREE TRADE BATTLE

IT is curious that just at the time I have taken up my pen to record these recollections I should find an attempt being made to revive a controversy, or at least to re-introduce a policy, against which I have fought so ardently for close upon twenty years. I allude to the most recent, and certainly the most insidious, of the attempts to infuse life into Protection, that political snake-in-the-grass which we all imagined had been scotched effectually in 1910. It has not for a good many years been seen in its true colours, but in the guise of war necessity it has been quietly insinuating itself here and there and is now pushing up its head more persistently, masked as a defender of key industries. In whatever form the monster has appeared I have never ceased to fight against it since Mr. Joseph Chamberlain brought it over from America under a new name in 1903, and even before that. A partial success in war time, however, will not go far, especially where Lancashire is concerned, and it has to be remembered that Lancashire's voice

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in financial, as in many other affairs, is still a deciding factor.

Let it be said at once that my determined opposition to Protection, Tariff Reform, or whatever this obsolete fiscal policy may be called, has nothing whatever to do with party politics. I am no politician and am attached to no party, my opposition being directed simply and solely to the economic weakness of this retrograde and stultifying movement. At the height of the 1910 electoral battle a notable disclaimer was made by Mr. Arthur A. Haworth (now Sir Arthur A. Haworth, Bart.), chairman of directors of the Manchester Royal Exchange Company, on this question of my political neutrality. As I then occupied the position of president of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and was also president of the International Cotton Federation, several people were very angry with me for having written letters to the Free Trade League and other bodies setting forth my views on Tariff Reform as applied to the cotton industry. They argued that I was using my official position in the trade for political ends. This Mr. Haworth had little difficulty in refuting. He pointed out that I had written these letters in my private capacity and from my private address at St. Annes-on-the-Sea, that I had always avoided party conflict in the work

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I had done in organizing the cotton trade for the general benefit of operatives and employers alike, and that so well had I been able to conceal my views on politics that both the great political parties had at one time or another actually approached me to become a candidate for parliamentary honours.

“When I see a man whom I respect,” said Mr. Haworth, “who has a position in the cotton trade which is second to none in the whole world of to-day, who has perhaps done more for the cotton trade than any man who ever lived except the great inventors of the self-acting mule, the spinning jenny and the power loom—when I see him abused as being guilty of writing these letters as a political dodge, I, for one, as a private individual, desire to enter my protest.”

Mr. Haworth added that if those who attacked me would attempt to refute one single argument that I had put forward as to why we should adhere to Free Trade they would do more good to their cause. As a matter of fact they never did.

From my intercourse with the leading men in the cotton trade of the world, and consequent knowledge of the conditions under which the industry was carried on both at home and abroad, I was convinced that we had advantages of which we should be deprived were Tariff Reform adopted in England. Its adoption would, in my opinion,

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not only enhance the cost of building and equipping mills, but it would also increase the cost of coal and other requisites for running the mills. It would further increase the cost of the numerous processes through which cotton passes, each of which, like the building, equipping and running of mills, involves a large amount of labour; therefore the accumulated enhancement of the cost of the finished fabrics would undermine our position, and our gigantic export trade in cotton goods would gradually pass into other hands.

The loss of a trade which stands at the head of our exporting industries would not only be a disaster to the millions of people directly interested in it, but would seriously affect all our national activities. In my opinion none would suffer more severely than the great landowners, many of whom seem to be the strongest advocates of Tariff Reform. Their interests and those of the agricultural classes are inseparably bound up with the prosperity of our great manufacturing industries and the power of these industries to maintain and extend our enormous export trade.

It is always well to remember that within a radius of fifty miles of the Manchester Exchange there is a population of nine millions, and this area forms the largest outlet for agricultural produce of any similar area within the Kingdom.

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These views have been endorsed time and again both by the leaders of the operatives' trade unions and virtually all the leading cotton spinners, manufacturers and merchants who do business in Manchester. They were endorsed at a notable conference of representatives of Capital and Labour in the cotton industry over which I presided in 1903, six weeks after Mr. Chamberlain's pronouncement in favour of Tariff Reform, and they have been confirmed on many occasions since.

From 1903 onward I never ceased to denounce the Tariff Reform policy. I took an active part in the fight that was waged at the election in 1906, and both then and in 1910 we won notable victories for Free Trade not only in Lancashire but throughout the country. The January election in 1910 was perhaps more memorable than any of our campaigns, and especially was it memorable for a great personal contest which took place in Manchester to decide the respective merits of Free Trade and Tariff Reform. Mr. Bonar Law, who was supposed to have inherited the mantle of Mr. Chamberlain, was so ill advised as to come to Lancashire to put the whole matter to a test, and decided to become the Tariff Reform candidate for the North-West Division of the city in opposition to Sir George Kemp (now Lord Rochdale). The contest evoked the keenest interest throughout

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the country. On the result depended the whole fortunes of Free Trade, for Conservatism as a party was now pledged to Tariff Reform.

Manchester men saw what was at stake and practically the whole of the cotton trade rallied to the side of Free Trade. Leaders of the industry, irrespective of politics, had been greatly concerned at the definite adoption by the Conservative party of the tariff policy, holding that if put into operation it would inflict irretrievable disaster on the staple trade of the county. A manifesto was accordingly prepared in support of the view I had set forth, and in the space of two days the signatures of over eight hundred representatives of the great cotton firms had been obtained in addition to those of representatives of subsidiary and dependent industries and various mercantile interests. The amount of capital represented in the manifesto was colossal. The manifesto was in the following terms :

“We, the undersigned spinners, manufacturers and merchants connected with the cotton industry, desire to state that, quite apart from party politics, we unhesitatingly affirm our belief not only that Free Trade is the best fiscal system for the country generally, but that any resort to a system of Tariff Reform would seriously jeopardize

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the position of the cotton trade of Lancashire and so produce grave disaster to the whole country. We, therefore, thoroughly endorse the views which have been set forth by Mr. C. W. Macara, whose position makes him particularly conversant with the facts obtaining in all the cotton-using countries in the world.”

In addition to this the leaders of the operatives in the cotton trade issued a manifesto in which they set forth their belief that the supremacy of the United Kingdom in the world's cotton trade was due to our Free Trade policy, which enabled us to buy the materials required for the production of manufactured cotton at the lowest price without the additional burden of import duties; that this minimum capital outlay and the consequent saving in interest and depreciation gave manufacturers here a great advantage in competition with other countries; that untaxed bread and meat and dairy produce contributed to the health and efficiency of the workpeople; and that our Free Trade policy opened to us all the markets of the world on the terms of the most favoured nation.

The result of these appeals to the common sense of the electorate was that not only was the apostle of Tariff Reform defeated and Sir George Kemp returned to Parliament by a large majority, but

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that all Lancashire gave a verdict for Free Trade more emphatic than it did in 1906.

One matter of personal interest during that election is worth recalling. Following Mr. Chamberlain's lead, the Tariff Reformers were constantly making the statement that as a result of Free Trade policy we had lost and were losing many of our trades, and that the cotton trade itself was getting near to the verge of ruin. As a proof of this they took statements I had made from time to time regarding the relationship that existed between Capital and Labour before the Brooklands' Agreement, and the effect these conditions would have upon an industry dependent so largely for its business upon export trade, and twisted them into "the opinions of Mr. Macara" as supporting Tariff Reform. What I argued was that these labour troubles placed in the hands of our foreign competitors extra sinews of war, seeing that their profits were enhanced through the stoppage of the English industry and thus gave them the opportunity for expanding their productive powers to the detriment of our position as a great exporting nation.

At that time we were undoubtedly suffering from depression in the cotton trade, but the cause of it was not anything that had arisen out of our fiscal policy, but was due entirely to the manage-

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ment of our own domestic affairs, to the twenty weeks' strike and other labour troubles we had had for many years before the employers and employed had met and settled their differences at the Brooklands Hotel. As to the general trend of trade throughout the world, I may add that England was not the only country affected by the depression, it being general in every cotton-manufacturing country whether Protectionist or not.

However, the Tariff Reform organ in Manchester printed these previous statements in big type, taking a whole page to set them out, and they were used freely at the meetings held by the Protectionists. I took no action for some time, but when Mr. Bonar Law came down to Manchester and began to use quotations from them to support his arguments I considered the matter had gone far enough. I therefore wrote to him and told him that the statements referred to had nothing to do with fiscal matters and that if he continued to use them in that connexion I should have to expose the erroneous interpretation he was putting on my words. I was careful again to explain that what I did had nothing to do with politics; all I wanted was fair play and the use of my words in their proper context. Mr. Bonar Law did not openly avow his mistake or make any

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public explanation, but he ceased to refer to the matter, and I allowed it to drop.

It is only those engaged in the cotton trade who recognize how fallacious are the statements upon which the Tariff Reformer bases his arguments. He is fond of talking, for instance, of the growth of the imports from other manufacturing countries, but he seems to be quite ignorant of the fact that a considerable part of these imports are goods that have been made in Lancashire, exported to other countries for some special process, such as finishing or dyeing, and then sent back to England, in many cases for re-export.

During the past half-century the world's demand for cotton goods has trebled. If, in face of that demand, many countries have entered upon cotton manufacturing for themselves, such a development was only to be expected. The result has not been to cut off our trade but to encourage greater variety and excellence of fabrics. Notwithstanding great developments in other countries, England has well maintained her preponderating position, owning to-day nearly one-half of the world's spindles and exporting about three-quarters of the production of these spindles and of the dependent machinery to all parts of the globe. What this means to this country can be judged from the fact that these exports represent

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a third of our total exports of all manufactures, and in money value in 1920, as I have previously mentioned, it represented considerably over £400,000,000. Lancashire, then, need have no fear, always supposing that she retains her old skill and enterprise. Tariff Reform is an appeal to timidity. It does not fit the temper of Lancashire.

What we must do to-day is to see that no change is made in our fiscal policy by any of those subterfuges the Government have been fond of practising during and since the war. Already there have been serious encroachments upon the domain of Free Trade. The first step in the revival of Protection, although it was said that that was not its purpose, was the imposition in 1915 of an import duty of 33½ per cent. upon foreign motors and other articles. War considerations gave a certain amount of plausibility to the arguments in favour of the tax, but the point to be noticed now is that, although the war considerations have passed away, the tax still continues and there is no talk in Government quarters of removing it. It is to be noted, too, that it has had no effect in saving the British motor manufacturing industry in 1920.

The next move was an import prohibition, specially directed against German dyes, which was not even in accordance with law, and was unceremoniously quashed in a judgment by Mr. Justice

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Sankey. Then in 1919 came the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain's system of Imperial Preference on tea, coffee, sugar, spirits, wines, tobacco and other things—a small thing no doubt, but one which will be carried farther if the country is not alive to the situation; while later the Government set at nought Mr. Justice Sankey's judgment by carrying through Parliament a Bill to impose severe restrictions upon the importation of German and other dyes.

Much play, too, has been made with the phrase "key industries," and in order to catch the ear of our Protectionist Cabinet a variety of things have suddenly jumped into importance under that designation. Even toy makers claimed that theirs was a key industry, though to what it was a key has never been made clear. The Government drew the line at toys, but by means of a Bill recently introduced they have protected many other industries by imposing $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. tariffs on imports which are suspected of being dumped or favoured in their production by low rates of exchange.

For my own part I am neither in favour of legislative interference with the supply of dyes nor of an Anti-Dumping Bill. Lancashire needs free access to all the finest colours, wherever produced, and cannot afford to let foreign competitors

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have an advantage in this respect, as they must have under the restrictions imposed by the Act of January, 1921. No doubt we were much to blame for not having developed the dye industry long ago, seeing how vital it is to the textile trades. We had all the chemical skill and inventiveness necessary, but I suppose it must have been that our textile manufacturers were so much occupied in their own work, and so generally prosperous, that it did not occur to them that it was desirable to establish a strong dye manufacturing industry in this country. While Germany was engaged with dyes we were engaged in developing our mechanical equipment, as is shown by the fact that in the ten years immediately preceding the outbreak of war we added 12,000,000 to our spindles, or a million more than Germany has altogether, notwithstanding that she has been in the trade for a hundred years. It is interesting to note, too, that the number of spindles we added in the decade preceding 1914 was equal to the whole of the spindles in India, China and Japan, although they have been developing cotton spinning and manufacturing in those countries for about seventy-five years.

Anti-dumping Bills will not make us immune from the importation of goods which foreigners offer at low prices. There are some goods which even a duty of 33½ per cent. will not keep out,

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owing to being produced in countries whose currencies are temporarily depreciated far more than that, and surely it is obvious to everybody that we only buy dumped goods because we find it to our advantage to do so. Some of them, indeed, are the raw materials of more complex industries we are engaged in here, and we only handicap ourselves in high-class work if we shut out the low-class materials which others, who have a lower standard of living, can make more cheaply than we are prepared to make them.

There is no doubt whatever that the levelling up of hours and wages in foreign countries to a standard approximating with the hours and wages in this country, which is now taking place, will do more than all the tariffs to maintain the pre-eminence of the cotton trade in England. I cannot do better than give the closing remarks of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in an address he gave in Bolton at the height of the Tariff Reform controversy in 1903. He quoted from my speech at the joint conference, already referred to, of the representatives of the organized employers and operatives in the cotton industry some weeks after Mr. Chamberlain had launched his scheme for Tariff Reform. At this meeting a resolution was passed practically unanimously condemning these proposals. Sir Henry said: "I have some words

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here which I have reserved to the very close of my remarks, in order to give more emphasis to them. They are the words which were used by a friend of mine, Mr. Macara, president of the Cotton Employers' Federation. He said: 'It may, I think, be taken that intelligent and fostering legislation, harmonious relationship between Capital and Labour, enterprise to secure a plentiful supply of raw material, energy, ability, and skill on the part of both employers and work-people, and economy in the cost of production, are the main factors that will enable us to continue to secure a fair share of the world's trade. I venture to express the opinion, at all events, that these conditions form the most secure basis any great commercial nation can rest upon which is dependent upon foreign trade for such a large proportion of its employment.'"

CHAPTER XVII

THE HEALTH INSURANCE ACT

APART from the campaign I led in opposition to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his Tariff Reform scheme, no other crusade in which I was concerned was so fiercely fought as that in which I was engaged when the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George introduced his German scheme of National Health Insurance.

I entered into the keenest opposition to the Bill from the very start, as I saw in it nothing but a sheer waste of our resources, while it was clear to all but those blinded by political prejudice that its incidence would be a heavy tax upon industry and would work most inequitably as between one trade and another.

Primarily, of course, I was concerned for my own industry of cotton, where I could see that employers would be penalized to an extent far beyond what was just, and altogether out of proportion to other trades which required much less manual help to carry on their business. An industry the wages in which represented 50 per cent. of the cost of production would obviously be unduly

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handicapped in comparison with other industries where much less labour was employed in proportion to the capital invested, while coal, upon which the cotton trade depended so largely, would be in an even worse position than cotton. The wages in the coal industry at that time were fully 70 per cent. of the cost of production. Now the position in the industry is even worse, for wages have reached quite 80 per cent. of the total cost.

Again, I calculated that the proposals in the Bill, to an ordinary cotton spinning company, would be equivalent to an increase in the income tax of 1s. 4d. in the pound, while a further great injustice was that in all business the ordinary shareholders would have to bear the whole burden, the debenture-holders, preference shareholders, distributors (both home trade and shipping) and the bankers being almost exempt. Thus the "idle rich" Mr. Lloyd George talked about so much at that time would go scot free while the workers and the employers in our industries found all the money to carry on this wasteful system of insurance.

It was altogether bad business. What Mr. Lloyd George ought to have done before he launched his Insurance Bill was what Mr. Chamberlain ought to have done before he started his crusade on Tariff Reform. He ought to have consulted half a dozen of the foremost men in industry

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along with half a dozen of the most prominent men representing labour, and I undertake to say that we should never have heard again of either of these foolish projects. No statesman who is not a practical business man can possibly have the experience of those who have devoted their lives to conducting the great industries upon which our national existence depends, and in my opinion a prudent Minister of State would be glad of the advice that such men could give him. Few politicians, however, are out to do things on business lines; they are too much concerned in estimating things from the standpoint of the personal kudos to be obtained from anything they undertake.

In July, 1911, I wrote privately to Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, putting before him my views regarding the effect this Bill would have upon the staple industries of the country, and urging him not to hurry the Bill, but to give it the mature consideration in all its bearings that its importance demanded. I pointed out to him that I yielded to no man in my anxiety to improve the position of the masses of the people; that I was, as a matter of fact, in favour of the principle of his Bill, but that as it stood I believed it to be ill-considered and inequitable both to employers and workpeople.

My communications were simply acknowledged

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by his secretary, and no attempt was made to meet my arguments. Being unsuccessful in making any impression by private negotiation, I attacked the Bill publicly through the Press, the outcome of which was a succession of great protest meetings in various parts of the United Kingdom. The Chancellor hardened his heart against all offers of advice and assistance, and the Bill was passed into law willy-nilly, the second reading being actually taken without a division.

The *Times* and many other papers were in agreement with the employers of Lancashire that the Bill ought to be held up until it was properly understood and discussed. In a leading article one paper suggested that the House of Lords might append an amendment to the Bill on the ground of lack of time, inadequate discussion in the House of Commons, and adverse feeling in the country, this amendment to provide that the Bill should not become law until it had been approved by the country. That, the newspaper said, would be a simple, effective and popular way of meeting the situation.

Evidently a large number of business people thought the same, for only a day or two before this appeared in the *Times* I received a manifesto, signed by 18,000 employers of labour, associating themselves with me in demanding the postpone-

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ment of the National Health Insurance Bill until a better opportunity had been given for considering "its novel proposals, its intricate details, its heavy taxation, its inequalities and its far-reaching effect upon the interests of both Capital and Labour." The list of names appended to the manifesto was but a fragmentary one, hastily prepared, and many important names were unavoidably omitted. The whole of the work of collecting the signatures had been done in four or five days.

All our efforts were to no purpose, however. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his masterful way, had set his mind on having his pet scheme placed upon the Statute Book, and he allowed nothing to turn him aside. Much of his legislation has been of the same kind. Mr. Lloyd George and his friends were all for waiving discussion and consideration and giving the measure a trial, a system which would be disastrous indeed if applied to business affairs generally. We wanted the consideration of the scheme to come first, not after machinery for working the Bill had been set up all over the country at tremendous cost.

There was, however, time for a protest to be made to the House of Lords, and this took the form of a big demonstration at the Association Hall, Manchester, on December 8, 1911, when no fewer than 206 branches of industry in the Midland

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and Northern Counties of England and the North of Ireland were represented. The great gathering, taxing the hall to its utmost capacity, roundly denounced the Bill and passed with great acclamation the following resolution :

“ That this meeting, representing the great trades in the North of England, Midland Counties and the North of Ireland respectfully urges the Houses of Parliament to postpone the National Insurance Bill for further consideration, on the grounds (1) that it has been inadequately discussed in Parliament and is not understood nor sanctioned by the country ; (2) that it is unequal both in the incidence of taxation and the distribution of benefits ; and (3) that it will gravely imperil the productive industries of this country.”

This resolution I moved from the chair, and it was seconded by Sir Algernon Firth, vice-chairman of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. The promoters of the meeting afterwards decided to send a copy of the resolution to the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and also to Viscount Morley and the Marquess of Lansdowne, the two leaders in the House of Lords, who were to be asked to receive a deputation.

This gathering, backed by similar protest meetings in Glasgow and London, was held on a Friday,

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and we found that it would be impossible to make arrangements for the deputation, seeing that the Bill was to come before the Lords on the Monday following. The time was short, but I determined that something should be done to bring our protest before the members of the House of Lords before they met to decide the fate of the Bill. I therefore had printed the big employers' manifesto, with a selection of the names of those who had signed it, and published this three-column protest and demand for postponement in the Sunday papers first of all, and in the *Times* of Monday morning. In addition I saw to it that every member of the House of Lords had a copy placed in his hands before he started for the House. It was a huge undertaking, and would have been effective, no doubt, had not the members of the Upper House thought fit to give way to expediency rather than take a firm stand on principle.

A good deal of newspaper controversy followed the meeting held in the Association Hall, our opponents contending that the gathering was not representative of the employers of the North and doing everything to disparage the campaign. It was a curious attitude to take in view of the fact that we had some of the best-known names in the commercial world on our list, and a contention that looked extremely foolish when comparisons were

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made with the names of those chosen by Mr. Lloyd George as an advisory committee to assist in working the Act. Those who were pressed into service to represent the cotton trade, greatest of all our manufacturing industries, were, if not unknown, totally without influence, and the same may be said of many other commercial and industrial interests represented.

Taking advantage of one of the provisions of the Insurance Act that its operations could be postponed for six months, if necessary, I, in my private capacity, organized a deputation to wait upon Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister. It was representative of all the industries in the country except agriculture, and was estimated to have behind it a capital of £2,000,000,000. Yet, although it is doubtful whether a deputation such as this had ever been organized before, it was declined a hearing, which is sufficient commentary itself of the high-handed way in which the Insurance measure was carried through. Mr. Asquith's action created great indignation and was one of the worst blunders he made during his term in the Premiership.

In a purely personal capacity I took no further action, although I was asked in 1916 to serve on the Committee of Investigation which had been called for owing to the unsatisfactory working of

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the measure. I was unable at the time, however, to undertake the work and delegated my duties to another. I may say that that inquiry amply justified all the employers had said of the measure, and all the opposition which the Bill had to meet before it was passed.

After the protest meeting referred to I was requested by the seconder of the resolution and other prominent men not to allow a great movement like this to fall into abeyance. It ought, it was said on every side, to be placed on a permanent footing, and I decided to comply with the requests made to me. In doing so I became involved in another strenuous campaign. I entered vigorously into a scheme for establishing an Employers' Parliamentary Association, a non-party organization whose main purpose at the outset was to carry on the work so splendidly initiated by the protest against the National Insurance Bill, and endeavour by every legitimate means to postpone the application of the Insurance Act until its provisions were made acceptable to employees and workpeople. Apart from this it was hoped to provide an effective medium for united action by all branches of industry and commerce, and to set up machinery by which the opinion of employers of labour could be obtained on any present or prospective legislation affecting industry and commerce. The trend

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of legislation made it highly desirable that business men should be able collectively to take action and to insist upon being consulted on all matters affecting industry and commerce.

The new body soon assumed large dimensions, embracing in its membership forty federations and associations and a large number of leading firms throughout the country. That its functions were of a very comprehensive and important nature is amply demonstrated in the five annual reports issued of its work. The last report, issued in January, 1917, dealt with many other things besides National Insurance—industrial unrest, industry and finance, alien indebtedness, scientific research, patents, transport facilities, a Ministry of Commerce, the formation of a comprehensive body representing all British industries, and a variety of other subjects. Its constitution suggested boundless possibilities, but unfortunately at the end of five years, during which time I had held the office of president continuously, its whole aims and objects were transformed and its early ideals suffered eclipse. It became merged with a body known as the Federation of British Industries and lost its whole identity, and I withdrew from the presidency.

The result was most regrettable, and all the more so that by this change the Association missed

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the opportunity of performing an exceptional service to the cause of industrial peace and amity. It was a time when a body such as the Employers' Parliamentary Association had become was never more wanted. Just before the amalgamation took place we had received a request from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress for a meeting of their representatives with the representatives of the Employers' Parliamentary Association for the purpose of discussing means whereby Capital and Labour might be brought into more cordial relationship. It was an opportunity rich with promise and one particularly gratifying to me, seeing that I had laboured for so long to bring about just such a *rapprochement* between the two parties. It was the chance of a lifetime ruined by a comparatively few who brought about an amalgamation at a critical time, and with a body who had not at all the same ends in view. The misfortune was due, as in so many other cases, to the apathy of the great majority of members who allowed a resolution to be carried which was but vaguely understood. The fusion was accomplished at a meeting thinly attended.

Owing to this amalgamation the negotiations between the representatives of Capital and Labour were allowed to fall through after but a single

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meeting had been held. It was something more than a mischance that led to this taking place; it was a calamity, and it may be long before such a golden opportunity occurs again. Labour, however, deserves every credit for its laudable intention, while at the same time a grave responsibility rests with those who frustrated this splendid attempt at conciliating the two great forces of industry.

CHAPTER XVIII

WORK IN THE GREAT WAR

IT is a responsibility resting upon those who conduct large industrial or commercial concerns that they should consider it part of their duty to take an interest in all public movements that have for their aim the national welfare. This applies not only to movements for the benefit of industry and commerce, but for the social welfare of the people, including national philanthropic schemes. In the success of all such schemes thorough and comprehensive organization is essential. Having had exceptional experience in work of this kind, I have always been ready to place at the disposal of the Government or the organizers of any national philanthropic scheme the results of this experience. So far back as the South African War I launched a scheme of centralization and decentralization, and one that was both national and local in its working—first, in collecting funds, and then in their distribution—which effectively prevented overlapping and consequent misuse. Its general adoption would have engendered enthusiasm and prevented

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what so often happens—local jealousy and subsequent competition. This scheme was admitted by many to be an excellent one, but for complete success it had to be carried out in its entirety, which was not done.

Within a few days of the outbreak of the Great War two representatives of the Government were sent to Manchester to make investigations as to the effect the war would have on the cotton industry, an industry which imports all its raw material and exports over three-quarters of its manufactures. The keeping of this industry going as much as possible was a matter of supreme importance, and the financial strain caused by so sudden a catastrophe as the outbreak of war required prompt and energetic action. The representatives of the Government came to me first, as the president of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation, and afterwards saw some other prominent men in the cotton trade. I found there was no uniform action pursued by the bankers in the North; some were exercising extreme stringency, others were dealing with matters liberally. Realizing the complexities of cotton trade finance, both as regarded the raw material and the manufactures, I recognized that there were all the elements of a financial crash if the position was not judiciously managed. The

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line of action I advised was that the representatives of the Government should return to London at once, and recommend that the Northern banking fraternity should be summoned to the metropolis for a conference with the London bankers, and endeavour to arrive at some uniform action. In the event of this not being possible, I suggested that the Government should back the Bank of England, and that the Bank of England, in turn, should back the joint stock banks, who were thoroughly conversant with the financial position of their customers. This line of action, with certain variations, was strongly supported by Sir Edward Holden, and eventually carried out. Sir Edward will, I believe, go down to posterity as the greatest financial authority we have ever had.

Another important matter that had to be dealt with was the Liverpool Cotton Market. The outbreak of war was sufficient in itself to bring about a financial crash in that highly sensitive centre; the position was aggravated by the fact that the largest cotton crop the world had ever grown was beginning to be marketed, and concurrently with this we had an additional difficulty in the fact that two large cotton-consuming countries—Germany and Austria—usually bought their year's supply between August and

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the end of the year, but were then, of course, out of the market. This combination of circumstances, it was apparent, could only lead to one result, viz. a glut of raw material, a great reduction in price and severe financial loss to everyone engaged in the industry, from the grower to the distributor. Therefore, a further precautionary measure was taken by the temporary closing of the Liverpool Cotton Market. Thus a financial crash was averted.

I next turned my attention to dealing with the cotton crop of the world. In connexion with the International Cotton Federation, of which I was president, a secret service, so far as regarded the individuals who contributed the information were concerned, had been carried on for a number of years by which figures were collected and tabulated of the yearly consumption of cotton by each country, and a half-yearly tabulation made of the stocks of cotton held in each country was issued simultaneously to all the spinners. I went to London and submitted this tabulation to all the Government offices that were interested in the matter. In these figures was included the cotton used by the enemy countries, and I made a proposal that it would materially mitigate the situation if England and America, the two preponderating factors in the growing and

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manufacturing of cotton, could employ the organizations that handled the cotton crop of the world to purchase the surplus created by the unusually large crop and the reduction in demand through enemy countries being out of the market, and by this means secure a reserve of cotton which would have been an inestimable benefit to the industry, and would also have had the effect of averting enormous loss. This was a business proposition in the interest of the growers and traders in both countries. The scheme was adopted in Egypt and India, but to be a success had to be carried out universally, and this was not done.

Prior to the war the cotton industry of the world was developing at the rate of four million spindles per annum, which was in excess of the raw material available; consequently the price of cotton had ruled high. My proposition of taking advantage of the peculiar circumstances would not only have saved enormous loss—cotton being a commodity which, if properly packed, can be stored for years without deterioration—but would have done much more. The neutral countries might have been rationed in accordance with their known requirements, as given yearly by themselves, thus preventing them from making abnormal purchases and supplying enemy countries,

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as they did largely during the first twelve months of the war. Cotton is necessary not only for clothing, but is also an indispensable ingredient in the manufacture of explosives. In this proposition, however, I was not only not supported by the general committee of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation, who took the view that it was to their advantage to get cotton at the lowest price, even at the expense of the ruin of the growers upon whom they were dependent for the supply of the raw material, but they passed a resolution with the object of limiting my freedom of action; and this led me to resign a position I had held for twenty-one years, in order that I could continue work I considered essential to the welfare of all, untrammelled by any such conditions. That my proposals were justified has been amply proved by what occurred. American cotton fell from $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4d. per pound, a long way below the cost of production; and, although official statistics did not show this, the same cotton rose later to 45d. per pound, enhancing the cost of clothing immensely. When it is considered that a rise or fall in value of a halfpenny per pound on the average cotton crop of the world represents no less a sum than £20,000,000, it will be realized how this enormous enhancement was brought about, and how serious was the inaction and lack of

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foresight displayed by the Governments appealed to in not adopting the advice proffered at the commencement of the war. The neglect to adopt the suggestion also led to the serious prolongation of the war, with all its attendant loss of life and treasure. Now that the war is ended, we are suffering from the effects of a slump from the exceptionally high prices, which by foresight might have been greatly minimized if not altogether averted.

A graver aspect of the question as to how cotton should have been handled under war conditions was that which concerned its uses in the manufacture of explosives. Here again, I regret to say, all early warnings to the Government fell upon deaf ears. As will be seen, I wanted at the outset of war to stop the flow of cotton into enemy countries. Acting upon this plan, the Government could have made cotton contraband at the beginning of hostilities, and could have rationed neutrals upon something like their pre-war level. We know what happened. Cotton continued to flow into enemy countries without very much hindrance, and an agitation had to be carried on in the thirteenth month of the war before any action in the matter was taken. Perhaps this was the greatest and most cruel paradox of the gigantic struggle. We knew that cotton

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was an indispensable ingredient of high explosives, and we could have little doubt as to the uses to which Germany was putting the supplies which were allowed to pass through. I felt very deeply indeed upon this matter, being unable to comprehend the motives the Administration had for its costly and seemingly callous inaction. I helped, and to a large extent led, a campaign to force the Government's hands.

In August, 1915, I presided at a great meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, and in the course of my speech made use of the following words: "Speaking now, after twelve months' experience of the war, I feel it is an absolute necessity that well-considered, strong measures must be carried out which will have the effect of preventing cotton from reaching enemy countries, while at the same time acting fairly in the interests of neutral countries and safeguarding the future welfare of a great international industry." Exactly eleven months before that speech was made I had expressed the view that the prime factor in bringing the colossal war to an end would be the stoppage of the supply of food and the raw materials of the cotton and other industries to enemy countries! In giving these memories now, I have no other wish than to show that the Government in control at that day were not prepared to

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take the advice of the people who had spent their lives in dealing with practical affairs; but I should be misunderstood if it were thought that this is meant as a stricture upon one particular Government, for my experience of all Governments is that they prefer the way of official action, or inaction, to that of carrying out advice tendered to them by men whose experience entitles them to be regarded as sound guides.

At the meeting in the Queen's Hall Sir William Ramsay, the eminent scientist, spoke out of his great knowledge of the devastating uses to which cotton could be put. A resolution impressing on the Government the need to make cotton absolute contraband of war was passed, and shortly afterwards the Government carried it out. What a waste occurred through the early blindness of our statesmen! I know that those in power had their hands full, that matters crowded upon them without cessation; but I feel that if they had only had the wisdom to listen to the advice, and delegate to those who had expert knowledge such work as I have described, countless lives and endless treasure would have been saved.

Asked, before America came into the war, to send a message to the Press of the United States, I put the above views at the very forefront of what I had to say, and I warned them not to

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multiply new departments for doing their work, as we had unfortunately done on this side, and the practical-minded Americans themselves saw the value of spending as little effort as possible on making new machinery when the old would do the work better.

In some of the work I was able to do during the war this principle was carried into effect. The Admiralty, in 1915, invited me to organize the supply of aircraft cloth for their aviation section. As to the detail of the work, I was given liberty to select my own assistants, who were given officers' rank in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve. We set to work with a will, and soon the production of this wonderful cloth, much of it amongst the finest work of the textile industry, was very largely increased. But I could not approve the piecemeal system upon which this important work was carried on by the Government. My plan was that our Army and Navy, and the Allies as a whole, should obtain their aeroplane cloth through a single agency, thus cutting out all overlapping and the waste of duplicated arrangements. Alas! this was another suggestion which fared ill.

I was much better pleased by the carrying out of the National Registration scheme. Everyone remembers the awful muddle into which our early

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recruiting fell. If ever criticism of our methods was justified, it was in respect to the way in which we dislocated every industry by taking indiscriminately every fit man who offered himself, regardless of the fact that a man might have had ten times his fighting value if allowed to remain at his work. I held that recruiting should be carried out upon a scientific basis, and ventilated a scheme through the Press which formed the basis of the Bill for National Registration introduced by the Right Hon. W. H. Long (now Viscount Long) in May, 1915, when President of the Local Government Board. Speed was the essential in taking the register. There was some danger—which we were spared, however—of another great department being created to do this work. The necessity for immediate action dominated every other consideration. Having formulated the scheme that was practically adopted, I was requested to serve on a small committee at the Local Government Board for the launching of the scheme after it became an Act, the main features of which were making use of existing organizations and using the municipalities to do all the necessary work, the latter being supplied with the minutest details as to how this was to be done. Twenty-seven million forms were printed, sent out, returned, and tabulated by the

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municipalities with some paid help, but chiefly by the aid of voluntary workers, and the register was completed in a marvellously short space of time. I cite this as a demonstration of the value of applying organization and using existing agencies instead of creating new ones, which is always attended with much labour, loss of time, and unnecessary expense.

At the outbreak of war I at once offered my services to any Government Department on the distinct understanding that I could not accept any official position, but was willing to work unofficially in the background, and with the exception of the National Register and the Royal Naval Air Service I strictly adhered to this rule. I was able to give some assistance in this way to the Treasury, the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Munitions, and other Departments. I also helped to compose a particularly awkward dispute early in the war between the Government and the manufacturers of textile machinery. At the time I intervened the Government had come to a deadlock, largely through their own failure to understand business. The terms they were offering for the manufacture of munitions were shown to be impossible. After some negotiations, I had the gratification of seeing firms employing approximately 50,000 men fall into line to turn

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out the munitions of which we were so sorely in need.

Another effort made in the early days of the war was to get all the war charities scientifically organized. Having had special opportunities of familiarizing myself with the best methods of working great public funds, I set myself to this work. When the Prince of Wales' Fund was started at the commencement of the Great War, I thought the admirably simple and smooth working scheme proposed for the South African War might be of use, and submitted it to the judgment of those who, in the very early days of the war, were appointed to organize the fund. It was, perhaps, too simple, but nevertheless it was practical. This scheme was not theoretical, but had been successfully applied in other national philanthropic efforts, as I have already said, and I was not alone in regretting that the country did not act upon it.

It is my sincere belief that when a man has acquired experience that is of use to his country, especially in emergencies, he should give it to the community.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COAL CRISIS OF 1921

PERHAPS no work that I have done in a long association with industry was so arduous, so compassed about with difficulties, as the efforts I made to bring the great industrial dispute of 1921 to an end. I had seen the crisis coming for many months. Looking back now over the record of the two years which preceded it I am amazed that our statesmen did not see what a hotbed of trouble they were leading industry into by their futile interference with affairs which only practical men can understand and handle. The coal industry gave a striking example of this folly, and the great crisis was the inevitable result. I need not emphasize here the key position which the coal industry occupies. Everybody understands that a plentiful and cheap supply of coal is essential to the successful carrying on of industry.

Since this is so, the Government in their dealings with that industry ought to have been especially careful to take steps which would ensure a plentiful output and contented workers. It cannot be too much stressed that these two things

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go together. The great crisis of 1921 arose because there was not enough vision in our Government, or in the owners and miners, to make arrangements which would ensure them. The apparent causes of that crisis, as I shall show later, were not the real ones. The real causes were deep seated and stretched back to the dispute in the coalfields in the year 1912.

My first step in regard to the crisis was a communication to the Press, which received wide publicity, asserting the view that the list of wages in various areas which the coal owners offered involved reductions of too severe a character in the earnings of the men. I ventured in the same letter to give personally some counsel to both owners and men against continuing a dispute which could only plunge them into loss and involve all other industries, as well as the homes of the people, in hardships. I have no doubt that some coal owners resented a member of the employing class taking up such a critical position as to their offer; but the penalty of such unpopularity is one which every sincere man must pay when his views run counter to those of his class. It is a penalty I have paid over and over again. Indeed, I had often to stand quite alone at the beginning of a cotton trade dispute, and had to wait until the other employers came round to my way of thinking.

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This is precisely what happened both with the public and even the coal owners themselves in regard to the earliest views I expressed on the wages question in this great crisis. First the readers of newspapers, having paid more attention to the district rates of wages, came to the conclusion that the owners had been less generous than could be expected, and then the owners themselves sent out a new and better offer through the Press. But the "pool" issue, as raised by the miners' leaders, was now supreme in the field, and a deadlock set in. I realized how disastrous, both to the mining and to all industry, that deadlock was, and felt that every help I could render from an experience practically unparalleled of industrial negotiations should be given.

I set all other affairs on one side and motored to London in order to be at the centre. My stay in the Metropolis lasted five weeks, during which I had interviews with leaders of Capital and Labour, with statesmen, and with representatives of all the leading English and American newspapers. The trials and difficulties of such a campaign, the hopes that rise, and the unexpected way in which they are often dashed, the cross-currents and the obstacles which have to be overcome, are, I imagine, things of which very few men have had experience, and for that reason a

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record of them may prove both interesting and useful. The position when I arrived in London was that the Government had made their offer of £10,000,000, but the miners would not accept it because of the scale of wages which the owners had offered.

I was fortunate in finding right at the outset of my campaign that the aims that were inspiring my action, and the views which I held, gave me the attention of the editor of the *Times*, Mr. H. Wickham Steed, a man of such gifts and so much charm of personality that it would be impossible for anyone to have intimate conversation with him, as I had, without conceiving the warmest admiration for him. When fully convinced of the soundness of my arguments, he opened the columns of the *Times* to me, and through them I was enabled to give to the whole nation the benefit of what a long experience of national and international movements in industry had taught me. It was owing to this that in the first days of my visit to London I was able in a letter which appeared on the leader page of the *Times* on May 13 to express views on the crisis which would then have been a suitable basis for a settlement and which had to be very closely followed in the actual settlement which was made some four weeks later.

In the cotton industry we had long before this

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date fought out the question of a uniform scale of wages which entered largely into this mining crisis. What struck the public most in the list of wages offered to the miners was the great disparity between the rates of wages in different districts, and there is no doubt at all that these differences were the fundamental reason for the insistence of the ordinary miner on the "pool."

The first letter to the *Times* showed how the cotton industry had faced a similar difficulty and overcome it. I pointed out, however, that big issues like these of this coal crisis could only be settled after many prolonged joint meetings, and that it was senseless for the parties to keep the industry idle while they argued out principles. Perhaps I may reproduce the editorial note of the *Times* upon my letter, especially as it embodies the proposals I then made, proposals I may say which soon had innumerable supporters, as my post-bag showed :

"We publish this morning," said the editor, "a letter upon the coal crisis from Sir Charles Macara, who was for more than twenty years president of the Cotton Spinners' Federation. His experience in dealing with disputes in his own industry and his long record of success in the avoiding of stoppages entitle his views to respectful con-

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sideration. His only object in making his present suggestion is, he says, 'to help in bringing to a speedy and satisfactory end the present crisis, which is seriously affecting all the industrial and commercial interests of the nation, and inflicting severe privations not only upon the miners and their wives and families, but upon the whole community.' Believing that long negotiations between representatives of the mine owners and those of the miners will be necessary before any satisfactory agreement can be reached in the coal trade, he recommends the Miners' Federation to accept the Government's offer of £10,000,000 for the next four months and go back to work at once, on condition that negotiations should be started immediately between the leading men on both sides. If, as is possible and indeed probable, these negotiations should not lead to agreement within two months of the resumption of work, Sir Charles Macara suggests that both sides should state their case before a body similar in composition to the Industrial Council which was appointed by the Government in 1911. A verdict from such a body, consisting of equal numbers of representatives of Capital and Labour, with, possibly, a neutral chairman, would, Sir Charles believes, carry great weight and would be likely to lead to a satisfactory settlement."

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I will not here repeat all the points I made, since that might be tedious, but the concluding sentence of the letter expressed a view which I would like to emphasize in these pages. "During my long term of office as president of the Cotton Spinners' Federation," I wrote, "Government or other intervention in wages disputes was strongly resented by both sides." Now my reasons for saying this were both many and sound. I have seen the great dangers which attend Government intervention in industrial matters, ever since Governments practised it on a wide scale. As I pointed out, this very crisis in the coal industry dated back, in principle, to 1912; for it was in the coal strike of that year that the miners began to lean upon the weakness of Governments. A deadlock was reached in that strike, and the Industrial Council of 1911, which was then in use, was summoned, and when a breakdown occurred in the negotiations a deputation of six members of the Council—of whom I was one—went to Downing Street and succeeded in reopening negotiations. The reopening of negotiations was a very valuable service, and could only have been achieved by practical men of affairs having a full knowledge of industry, which was precisely the recommendation of every member of the Council. At first the Cabinet Committee was grateful, and it was agreed

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that the Council was to co-operate with them until a satisfactory settlement was reached. What happened? Having got negotiations going again, the Cabinet Committee, without further consultation with the Industrial Council, as previously mentioned, made a weak settlement, and thus sowed the seed for years of bad relationship between the coal owners and the miners. From that time on to the great crisis of 1921 there was no abiding peace in the industry, and Government intervention at various stages during the years 1912-21 simply led to a series of expedients which aggravated the real differences between masters and men.

In arguing against Government intervention I was on ground which I very well understood. I had no personal feelings of any kind in asking the coal owners and the miners to dispense with Government intervention. Indeed, in all my public work I have avoided personalities or allowing my action to be influenced by personal considerations. This matter is one of principle, and that is my reason for dealing with it so fully here. As soon as a Government, whatever its colour, intervenes in industrial disputes, the political element which has no place in such affairs is introduced. That is a danger, because the people who are looking on at once begin to see the whole thing through

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the mist of political bias. Further, a Government must always be thinking of votes, and to get a popular settlement is, from its point of view, a consideration. Finally, industrial affairs are so very intricate and complex that there is only room, in such negotiations as are necessary in disputes, for experienced men of affairs who have studied industry and been in contact with it day by day and year by year. Government arbitration has generally been by lawyers, and what arbitration could be worse in great practical matters where the spirit and not the letter is all in all?

My room at the Hotel Victoria was, whilst I was in London, unceasingly busy with callers and telephone messages. I conducted at least a dozen interviews a day. Amongst those whose support I sought in these interviews were Lord Northcliffe, who received me with cordiality, Lord Islington, Sir Hugh Bell, the editors of various newspapers, and Major H. Barnes, M.P., who did yeoman service in the cause of peace.

As I have said, I saw and won the help of men on both sides in the actual dispute. Mr. Frank Hodges, the secretary of the Miners' Federation, I found to be in our interviews a man of intellect, of sane, clear views, of much charm of personality—a man who, above all, impressed one by his great sincerity. I have met many Labour leaders, and I

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honour many of them. Mr. Hodges is among those who are highest in the list. Mr. Cramp, of the Railwaymen's Union, was another of the leading figures on Labour's side whom I saw, and of him, too, I conceived a very high opinion. I could not here name half the influential people whom I personally interviewed, sometimes by my own wish, sometimes at their request, during the five weeks' campaign.

By means of these interviews much good was done quietly, and I personally am convinced that two weeks after my coming to London—that is, on May 22—had it not been for the laxness of the Government and their inability to see the right moment for action and the right way to act, the dispute would have been brought to an end very much on the lines I had suggested.

All the time I was carrying on the widest Press campaign, my letters and articles in the London Press alone covering, when reprinted, about sixteen quarto sheets. Everything I sent to the Press in London was quoted in the provincial Press, so that my press-cutting agency was sending me numerous extracts every day. Carrying on a vast voluntary campaign simply because I have all my business life fought for industrial harmony, and because I thought I had some really valuable advice for those engaged in the mining dispute,

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I was naturally encouraged when I saw my views being so widely published by the London and provincial Press. I look now over the record : I see that I was interviewed by representatives of the leading American newspapers ; I do not know how much publicity the work got across the Atlantic, but it was significant of the growing interest of America in our doings that their newspapers were taking so much interest in affairs which might ultimately become acute there. Besides my letters to the *Times*, special articles appeared in the *Daily Graphic*, *Pall Mall Gazette* ; and interviews in the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily News*, and with the Press Association also were among the contributions I made.

Though the crisis was prolonged, I know that the work I did helped in the ultimate settlement. On every hand since that crisis the principle that industry should be freed from Governmental interference has gained support, and the harmony for which I have laboured for nearly forty-six years is now spreading over industry.

In the midst of the mining crisis, and while I was at work in London, a dispute and a stoppage occurred in the cotton industry. This was a tremendous complication, and I found myself called upon by reason of my long and intimate connexion with the cotton industry to write articles and give

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interviews upon this dispute. Here, again, I had to take a line which was not wholly popular, since I could not agree with the attitude the employers had taken up in the conference at which negotiations broke down. It was but a brief stoppage, and was settled upon the lines I advocated, which involved a more generous policy on the part of the employers than they had been willing to follow.

I was, and am, grateful to all who assisted me in the work carried on so intensively during those five weeks. It was work that had a much wider significance than the settling of the particular trouble then existing. My object was to spread during that crisis opinions which would lead men to see the folly of causing a stoppage of industry when any question arose between masters and men. I wished to spread the doctrine that strikes and lock-outs were methods of barbarism; that the owner, the worker and the public all suffered whenever they occurred. I believe that this doctrine has now taken a firm hold of the public mind. I hope that the signs of the dawn of a better industrial era which are now flushing the horizon may bring us to the high noonday of harmony and conciliation when men shall win prosperity by co-operation, and the old competition, distrust and strife shall disappear.

In these concluding words I should like to say,

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as I said in my opening ones, that my outlook is one of optimism. I am no dismal prophet. I believe in British grit, British skill, British sagacity. With these qualities I see no reason why Britain should not lead the industrial world. I have said before, and say again, that given wise statesmanship, good management and co-operation between employers and employed, British industry has before it a future and an influence in the councils of the world such as have never before fallen to the happy lot of an Empire and a people in the history of mankind. That is my faith. So may it be!

CHAPTER XX

ANDREW CARNEGIE

IF one might, as it were, put a footnote to a book of this character, its purport would be to emphasize the inadequacy of a volume of this size as a means of dealing with the many phases of a life so varied as my own. One is bound of course to chronicle those outstanding features and incidents which have a bearing on public affairs, but how much there is of a more intimate and personal character that remains to be told!

One cannot have had so many interests, and moved in a circle so wide and diversified, without having seen and heard a great deal that it is fashionable to-day to put on record; but the making of piquant "copy" for gossip is foreign to my purpose and nature. I am concerned much more with movements than manners, and it appears to me to be but a poor return for confidence and friendship to hold up one's intimates to public inspection or criticism.

I would, however, like to pay a tribute to one of those whose friendship I have enjoyed, but this

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more for inculcating a lesson than of dissecting a personality. I refer to Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a man who touched life at just those points which have interested me most, and who, besides having a very wide outlook upon men and affairs, was undoubtedly inspired to do his duty according to his own ideas with the wealth at his command.

I did not come to know Mr. Carnegie until he returned to Scotland and bought Skibo Castle, on Dornoch Firth, but we soon became very friendly, one of the bonds of fellowship between us being the fact that we were both natives of Fife, born within eleven miles of each other.

The dozen miles around my native place seem to have been fertile soil for the production of big men, and two at least can be mentioned who made history during the Great War. I refer to Earl Haig, who led our forces to victory in France, and to Lord Wester Wemyss, Admiral of the Fleet, who was First Sea Lord for a portion of the time the war was in progress. Lord Haig is the son of a well-known man, a county magistrate who resided at Cameronbridge, and Lord Wester Wemyss one of the members of the great family of Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, Fife.

I first met Mr. Carnegie on the occasion when he presented the large public park of Pittencrief

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Glen, to his native town of Dunfermline, that park which contains Malcolm Canmore's ruined tower and the royal palace, the scene of the ballad of "Sir Patrick Spens"; and I have followed with great interest the doings of the Dunfermline Trust, which he endowed first with an annual income of £25,000, and later with a gift of £250,000 so that the town might have a fund "to be used in attempts to bring into the monotonous lives of the toiling masses of Dunfermline more of sweetness and light."

As a result of the lavish use of these funds Carnegie benefactions in Dunfermline are visible in all directions. One of the features of the place is the little cottage in the attic of which Mr. Carnegie was born. This he took particular pride in preserving.

After our first meeting we became very friendly and had a certain amount of correspondence on various public matters. Afterwards I got invitations to visit him at Skibo, and there not only enjoyed all the amenities of a fine Highland residence, but what was perhaps as much to me as anything else, association with a very remarkable personality. Mr. Carnegie was a very versatile man, and his versatility was shown in a variety of ways, and not the least as a literary man. No doubt he was exceedingly proud, and justly so, of

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his attainments, but upon the whole he was a simple-minded man and appeared anxious to do his duty in his day and generation.

These visits to Skibo were extremely interesting also on account of the many prominent personalities I met. Besides Englishmen of note there were well-known American citizens present on these occasions, and this gave me an opportunity of exchanging views with men of great power and influence in the world.

Mr. Carnegie had made his estate, which covered an area of 30,000 acres, exceedingly attractive. He had expended a large sum of money in making improvements both to the castle and to his landed property. He had, for example, created a big fresh-water lake as well as a salt-water one, but one of the most important features was a large swimming-bath, and at the same place baths of all descriptions, including Turkish and Russian.

The large swimming-bath alluded to was wonderfully constructed. By means of elaborate machinery, worked electrically, the roof could be uncovered and the water emptied and the whole converted into an open-air ballroom.

On one occasion King Edward, when yachting in the North of Scotland, spent a day at Skibo Castle, and what struck him most of all was this

Andrew Carnegie

marvellous swimming-bath, where, in hot weather, open-air dances could be given.

In going over the estate there was evidence of great attention having been given to the housing of the tenants and workpeople. Not only were the houses well built, with baths and electric light, but a point had been made of furnishing them with every modern convenience, in order that those who served him should enjoy the same comforts as he and his guests did.

There was a magnificent organ in the hall of the castle, and on Sunday evenings all the workpeople were summoned to a simple religious service conducted by Mrs. Carnegie. Both Mrs. Carnegie and her daughter, who at that time was a girl of seventeen, were very deeply interested in social work among women, not only at Skibo where they lived, but in the greater world of New York.

Some years ago an American author wrote a book with the title, "Inspired Millionaires," and I was asked by the editor of a well-known London newspaper to give my views upon it. I did so, and observed that while there was much in the book with which I was in agreement, I did not think there were many inspired millionaires.

"Most of the men who have done the world's work," I said, "have not been millionaires.

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They have been men with souls above money, and capable of making great personal sacrifice." Simple money-making really takes the life out of a man. He reaches a point at which he can think of nothing but the accumulation of money. It becomes a positive passion. And when he has made his money the first thing that begins to strike him is that his family has absolutely nothing to work for. When the members of his family inherit his money, therefore, it generally means the ruining of them.

"The man who takes a broad view of life may do ten times more than a millionaire who is even liberal with his money. The man who works for the prosperity of the nation, and is satisfied with a moderate share in that prosperity, is working on the soundest basis."

In my opinion, I added, money alone is not necessary to command attention. Brains and originality are more important. But the author, I maintained, would indeed have rendered a most valuable service to millionaires and to humanity if he inspired the former to follow the life work of men of originality and broad views who might have been millionaires had they not preferred the rôle they had played.

The great work of the world has been done by men under the inspiration of a sense of duty,

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and co-operation with such men might enable millionaires not only to dispose of their surplus wealth with immense benefit to humanity, but also with benefit to their own families.

At the time I made these remarks, in 1911, I had in my mind one brilliant exception to the ordinary run of millionaires, one who had for years been giving freely of his wealth for the benefit of mankind. I had in my mind Andrew Carnegie.

What Carnegie thought of wealth and its place in the scheme of human happiness I was to find out from his own lips. On one of the occasions on which I was visiting him at Skibo Castle I found, not a party of people indulging themselves in all kinds of senseless pleasure and luxury, as is so often the case at wealthy men's houses, but a quiet, thoughtful, intelligent company of people, who, like their host, were concerned in all kinds of schemes for the betterment of mankind. One of those present, I remember, was Lord Morley, to whom Mr. Carnegie, in 1902, presented Lord Acton's famous library, containing 70,000 or 80,000 volumes.

On one Sunday afternoon I had a long walk with Mr. Carnegie in the grounds of the castle, and we discussed a number of things relating to

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the work and wealth of the world. For all his riches, it was clear from his conversation that he was a sound democrat at heart.

I remember vividly one remark he made :
“ Sir Charles,” he said, stopping abruptly in his walk, “ the day of the multi-millionaire is over ; the people won’t have it ! ”

Then he told me of some verses that had appeared in a local paper some time before, that had given him the greatest possible pleasure to read. He handed me a copy. They were verses entitled “ Me and Andra,” signed “ R. C.,” and had appeared in the columns of the *Dunfermline Press*, a copy of which had been forwarded to him in America. I have pleasure in reproducing them here, as I am sure many people would like to have them, and also because I know that they embodied exactly the sentiments of the one to whom they were specially addressed. Along with the verses I give also the opinion of Mr. Carnegie. The verses read :

“ ME AND ANDRA ”

“ We’re puir bit craiteurs, Andra, you an’ me,
Ye hae a bath in a marble tub, I dook in the
 sea,
Café au lait in a silver joog for breakfast gangs
 to you ;

Andrew Carnegie

I sup my brose wi' a horn spuin an' eat till
I'm fu'.

An' there's nae great differ, Andra,
hardly ony,

My sky is as clear as yours, an' the
cl'uds are as bonnie;

I whussle a tune through my teeth to
mysel' that costs nae money.

“The bobolink pipes in the orchards white in
your hame on the ither side;

Grey whaups cry up on oor muir t' me, white
seamaws soom on oor tide;

An organ hums in your marble hall wi' mony
a sough an' swell,

I list to the roar o' the wind an' the sea in the
hollow o' a shell.

An' there's nae great differ, Andra,
hardly ony ava;

For the measure that throbs through
eternal things to me is as braw,

An' it wafts me up to the gate of God
to hear His choir an' a'.

“We're draiglit bit craiturs, Andra, plowterin'
i' the glaur,

Paidlin' ilk in oor ane bit dub, and glowerin'
ilk at his star;

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Raikin' up the clairt o' the trink till our faither
airts us hame,

Whiles wi' a strap, whiles wi' a kiss, or carrying
us when we're lame.

An' there's nae great differ, Andra,
we're sib as peas in a cod,

Ill-faured weans at the best—the draiglit
wi' the snod;

An' we'll get peyed what we're ocht,
Andra, when we gang hame to God.

“What if I win fame or gear, Andra, what if I
fail,

Be gleg as a fumart whitrock, or dull as a
snail?

It'll be a' ane in a hunder' year, whether I sally
or slide—

The nicht sits as dark on a brawlin' linn as it
broods on a sleepin' tide.

An' there's nae great differ, Andra,
whether ye bum or biz;

If no' a wheel, ye may be a clink, if ye
canna' pull ye can bruiz.

We maun tak' the world as we find it,
lad, and content w' it as it is.

“R. C.”

Some weeks later the following editorial note

Andrew Carnegie

and letter from Mr. Carnegie appeared in the *Dunfermline Press*:

“We have received the following letter from Mr. Carnegie in connexion with the publication of the verses, ‘Me and Andra,’ in a recent issue of the *Dunfermline Press*:

“The Cottage, Dungeness,

“Farnandina, Fla.,

“Feb. 16, 1906.

“DEAR SIR,—Please tell ‘R. C.’ that I have enjoyed his verses. He is both philosopher and poet, but he cannot know, as I do, how trifling are the advantages of wealth. He has to imagine one side; I have lived both and have learned that

‘If happiness has not its seat
And centre in the breast,
We may be wise, or rich, or great,
But never can be blessed.’

Beyond a competence for old age—and that need not be great, and may be very small—wealth lessens rather than increases human happiness. Millionaires who laugh are rare. This is just as it should be, and ‘R. C.’ has done a bit of good work (better than most sermons) in putting a

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great truth so vividly before us. I hope he has more of such ore to smelt.—Yours truly,

“ANDREW CARNEGIE.”

There is no doubt that men who attain to the wealth and eminence of Andrew Carnegie may, in the eyes of many people, make mistakes, and undoubtedly have done so, but, from my intercourse with the Master of Skibo, I am convinced that he was actuated by the highest motives.

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